



Greyhound Farm and Glyneath House,
Longtown, Herefordshire:
archaeological evaluation

Huw Sherlock and PJ Pikes
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archenfield archaeology ltd

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Summary

Archenfield Archaeology conducted an evaluation excavation in advance of housing development in Longtown, Herefordshire, in June 2001. The property, Greyhound Farm, is to the south-east of the centre of Longtown.

Longtown is situated in the ancient Welsh commote of Ewyas, which was associated with the kingdom of Gwent. Norman occupation of Ewyas began in about 1052 with the building of a castle at what is now Ewyas Harold.

The years after 1066 saw increased foreign activity in Ewyas with construction, in the standard Norman fashion, of castles, monasteries and boroughs. The de Lacy castle and borough at Longtown was part of this process.

The civil partition of Ewyas was effected in 1536 by what is often erroneously referred to as the Act of Union.¹ Eastern Ewyas became part of England. The ecclesiastic partition occurred in 1852 when the Ewyas parishes in England were transferred from the diocese of St David's to that of Hereford while those in Wales were transferred from St David's to Llandaff.

The excavation discovered no features which were interpreted as medieval. It was concluded that the buildings and properties along the south-west side of the road were the result of post-medieval encroachment onto what had originally been highway.

A linear earthwork extending from the south-eastern end of the development area was tentatively identified as part of the bounds of 'Merthir Clitauc', confirmed or re-established in the early 8th century when King Ithel of Gwent/Glywysing granted to the church of Ergyng/Llandaff.

1.0 Introduction

NGR (SO) 3324 2387

Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record - Event No 31727

Hereford City Museum Accession No 2002-3

Mrs. J. Price (the client) commissioned a programme of archaeological evaluation in accordance with the briefs issued by the Herefordshire Council Archaeology Service dated 15/01/2001. This was issued in response to planning application Planning refs. SW2000/2618/F & SW2000/2640/F for permission to construct a total of seven new dwellings on two adjacent sites.

¹ From the English point of view, Wales had legally been part of England for centuries. The act makes it clear that it is clarifying an existing position.

2.0 Geological, historical and archaeological background

2.1 Geological background and land use

Longtown occupies part of a sandstone ridge between the valleys of the Olchon Brook and the River Monnow. The rock lies just below the surface of the ridge along its crest, where it is overlain by a thin layer of clay. The name Longtown reflects the shape of the settlement, lying as it does along this ridge.

The road through Longtown follows the ridge, lying just slightly to the north-east of it. The site adjoins this road to the south-west and is therefore slightly higher.

There were two separate areas investigated. The larger part, Greyhound Farm, consisted mainly of disused later 20th century farm buildings and yards on the road side of the property, and grass with dumping of some rubbish, on the other (south-west) side.

To the south-east, the smaller development area was covered with scalplings and had recently been detached from Glyneath House. It had, until recently, been a vegetable garden, but the topsoil had subsequently been removed.

2.2 Historical background

On 29th August 1070 the first Norman Archbishop of Canterbury was consecrated. The reluctant Lanfranc – he had to be directly ordered by the Pope to take the position¹ - confessed himself baffled by the saints revered by his new English charges – many of whom he had never previously heard of and some of whom seemed to be of dubious sanctity. If this was the case with the English diocese, it was even more so with the Welsh ones.

Clydog, according to the legend, was a gifted young man, possessed of piety and blessed with good looks. As such, he attracted the attention of a certain young lady. Another young man, spurned by the girl, thereupon stabbed Clydog in a fit of jealousy.²

Lanfranc might well have considered that a young man killed in a brawl over a girl did not meet the usual Roman standard for martyrdoms. But Clydog had not been canonised by Rome; he was a saint within the traditions of the British Church. And the British church could claim continuity with the Christian church which had held sway in south-east Wales for generations before St Augustine of Canterbury was born.³

And so the martyr, Clydog, became a revered saint in the area known as Ewyas, and the place of his death became Merthir⁴ Clitauc, now Clodock.

The Clydog story has obvious mythic elements and it is likely that the word merthir -martyrdom - is a misinterpretation of the Latin martyrium - a type of Christian burial place. This interpretation may have given rise to stories explaining the name of the place, as it did elsewhere - Merthyr Maches and Merthyr Tewdrig (Matharn) (Brook, 1988, p69).

A possibility is that Clodock was a proprietary church. The founding of churches by local magnates and landowners was commonplace from the time of the late

¹ *'The prospect of ruling a distracted church in a foreign land was intensely distasteful to him, and after experience of its realities he found them almost insupportable'* Stenton, 1971, p663.

² The Book of Llandaf, from the English Translation in *The Liber Landavensis* by the Reverend W J Rees, 1840.

³ Five British clerics had attended the Council of Arles in 314. They included three bishops (one from York and two others - possibly from London and Leicester), a priest and a deacon (Todd, 1973, p40).

⁴ Welsh – Merthyr or Merthir = Martyr. The church of the Martyrdom of Clodawg.

Roman Empire onwards. These churches could sometimes become 'dedicated' to their founders. Sometimes an early priest may give the eponym. At Lann Guorboe the first priest was Guoroue - hence Lann Guorboe.¹ Clydog then, may indeed have been a king of Ewyas as legend suggests. Later oral tradition may well have elaborated the original facts.

The church built at Clodock, and dedicated to the eponymous saint, was already renowned when the brothers Libiau and Gwrfan, together with their sister-son Cynfwr, settled there and became the area's first farmers and are recorded as builders of an improved church. For the support of this church, Pennbargaut, King of Glamorgan granted them land on both sides of the Monnow (Davies, W, 1979, p114; Rees, p446).

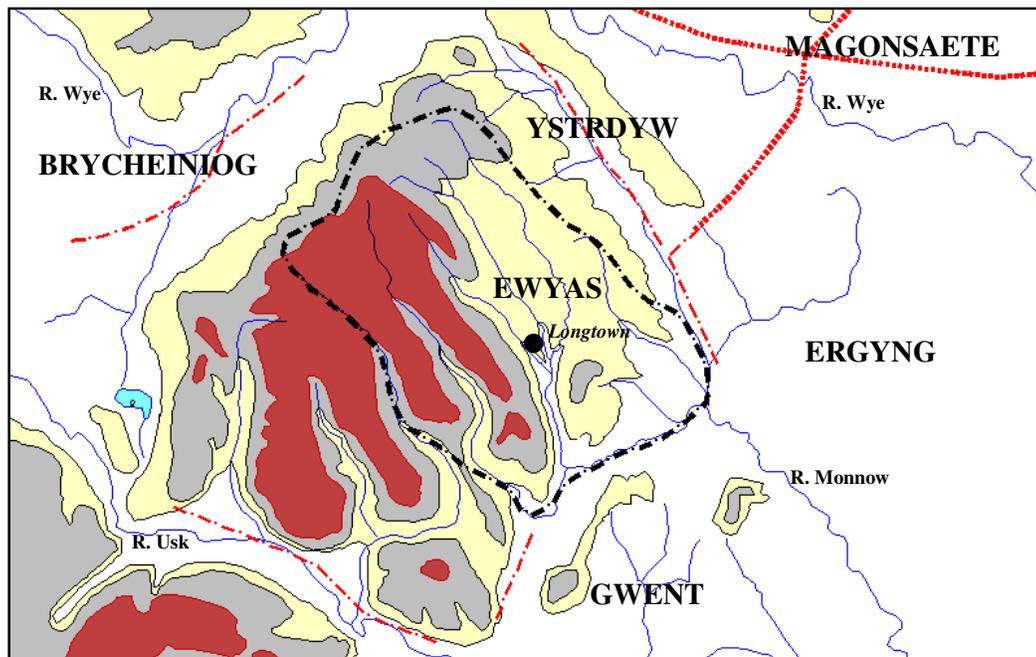


Figure 2: Early medieval Ewyas (Longtown did not exist in this period)

Clodock and Longtown form the core of the early medieval Welsh commote² of Ewyas. The northern boundary of the commote was marked by Cusop Hill (SO255 405) and its south-eastern one by the River Monnow. To the south-west the Grwyne Fawr valley formed its boundary and the lower reaches of the River Dore seem to have marked its easternmost extent (Coplestone-Crow, 1989). The name Ewyas, a purely Welsh name, may mean sheep district (Ekwall, 1960)³. Within the parish of Clodock, the place-name Pont Hendre (Upper, Middle and Lower) refers to the bridge - pont - by the hendre. Hendre, is originally hendref literally the old (hen) hamlet or township (tref), but used as a single word means 'a

¹ Lann Guorboe may be Garway on the Herefordshire Monmouthshire border (Wendy Davies, 1979). However, Bruce Coplestone-Crow (1989) suggests that this identification is unlikely and that Lann Guorboe is Eaton Bishop, a parish on the right bank of the Wye a few miles upstream of Hereford.

² A commote, or more properly commot, according to the OED, is a *territorial and administrative division usually subordinate to a cantref or cantred* and is the Anglicisation of the Welsh *cymwd/kymwt*. In modern Welsh *cwmmwd* is neighbourhood or locality. A *cantref*, literally a hundred towns or villages (*cant* = 100 + *tref* = town), was a sub-division of a larger unit, a kingdom. The status of Ewyas seems to be that of a commote not forming part of a cantref, but the origins of this arrangement are unclear.

³ This has been disputed in the past. Bannister in 1916 suggested that the root was not 'Celtic' and offered no explanation for it.

winter dwelling'. The inference from hendre is that there is a corresponding hafod - 'a summer dwelling'. The flocks would be taken out to the hills in summer and returned in winter in the classic transhumance pattern still practised in some alpine regions but which had begun to decline in Wales in the 16th century (Davies, J, 1994, p281).

To the south-west of Ewyas was the kingdom of Glywysing/Gwent¹, and to the east the area known as Eryng. Eryng had its own dynasty of kings in the 6th and 7th centuries. King Erb of Gwent and Eryng granted land in Eryng to the church in about 550 AD (Taylor, 1997, p9). His son Peibio was 'King of Eryng'. Peibio was followed by Cinuin and Gwyddgi, who were followed in turn by Gwrgan. Gwrgan is the last person recorded as King of Eryng, and probably died in about 645 (Davies, W, 1982, p75). Gwrgan's daughter, Onbraust, married Meurig of Glywysing/Gwent, and their son Athrwys became king of the whole territory.

Eryng² seems to have been the cradle of the bishopric which ultimately became Llandaff, having its origins in the activities of St Dyfrig, or Dubricius, in what is now southern Herefordshire. Dyfrig seems likely to have emerged from the local Romano-British population (Howell, 1988, p36) and may have been born in the mid-to-late 5th century (ibid. p35).³ He may have begun his activities at the time when the British kingdoms had a 50-year respite from Germanic incursions following their victory at Mons Badonicus in around 500.⁴ Later, as Mercian and West Saxon pressure grew on its original centre in south Herefordshire, the focus of this bishopric appears to have migrated westwards, finally settling at Llandaff in the late 10th or early 11th centuries (Davies, W, 1979, p91).

¹ The name Glywysing was the normal term used for the greater part of south-east Wales until the 11th century, Gwent was its eastern part. The term Morgannwg or Gwld Morgan – Morgan's land – derives from Morgan Hen in the 9th century (Davies, Wendy, 1982, p103).

² Eryng (or Ercic, or a variety of spellings in *The Liber Landavensis*) seems to be etymologically related to the place-name Ariconium, the Roman industrial town at Weston-under-Penyard, to the east of Ross-on-Wye (Coppleston-Crow, 1989).

³ The dates of Dyfrig and the Kings of Eryng are approximate. The earliest mention of Dyfrig is in the early 7th century *Vita Samsonis* - Life of St Samson, which recounts that he ordained Samson (Doble, 1971, p54). His birth may be in around 440-450 AD (Fenn, 1968, p334).

⁴ Mount Badon - the famous victory of the legendary King Arthur. Although some such event undoubtedly occurred, contemporary defeats for the Germanic peoples are bettered documented elsewhere when Justinian's general Belisarius, with an army of perhaps 7,500 attacked Sicily and Italy, which may have contained up to 100,000 German soldiers. Belisarius entered Rome on 9th December 536 (Davies, Norman, p242).

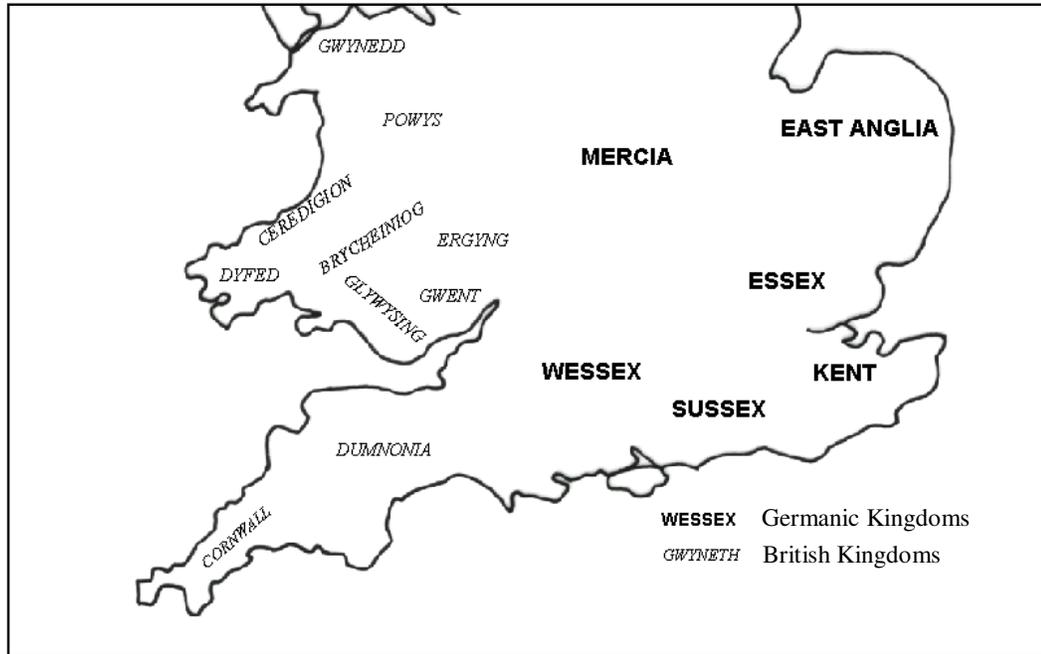


Figure 3: Early medieval southern Britain (after John Davies - based on William Rees, 1959)

The West Saxons, had penetrated into the area around the mouth of the Severn following their Victory against the British at the battle of Dyrham in 577 and their subsequent capture of the old Roman city of Glevum (Gloucester). A British¹ victory in the lower Wye valley in around 620 or 630 AD² stopped their advance (Davies, J, 1994, p60) and South Wales was never again to be seriously threatened by the English peoples.

During the subsequent respite from major foreign incursions the native British society continued as normal. It was essentially rural (no towns would exist in Wales for centuries) and possessed an influential Christian Church. In Ewyas, north of the present site of Longtown, a religious centre was founded at Llanveynoe, where what is probably the oldest stone cross in the modern county of Herefordshire stands. A grant here has been dated to around 600 AD (Ray, 2001, p122).

At Clodock, the storey tells, the brothers Lybiau and Gwrfan lived a life of piety and celibacy, but their nephew Cynfwr had four sons which led to the partition of the estate into five parts (Rees, p446). Lybiau, Gwrfan and Cynfwr are recorded in the book of Llandaff as the first occupiers and farmers at Clodock (see appendix A). That there was an early medieval settlement at Clodock is attested by a memorial found beneath the church, dated to the 5th to 7th centuries and inscribed 'to the dear wife of Guinddo, a resident of this place' (Ray, 2001, p119).

¹ British/Welsh/Saxon/Sais/English/Anglian – To the English speakers the Celtic speakers of the west of Britain were *Weallus* – *foreigners* – a word related to Walloon and Vlach, and implying those people occupying what had previously been Roman Imperial Territories. The western Celts referred to themselves as Britons – they came to use also *Combrogi* – *fellow-countrymen*, later the term *Cymru* – *companions* was used, the English speakers were *Sais*. The incomers facing the Welsh were mainly two groups – Angles, moving westward from East Anglia and into Mercia (the march or border), and Saxons, specifically the West Saxons from Gloucestershire. After the destruction of English power in 1066, the Welsh faced a new and terrible enemy - *y Freinc* – the French, as the Normans were referred to in Wales.

² The Battle of Pont y Saeson – the victor was recorded as Tewdrig, who had come out of retirement. Howell (1986, p40) dates this event to around 630 while Wendy Davies (1979. P97) dates a charter referring to it at around 620.

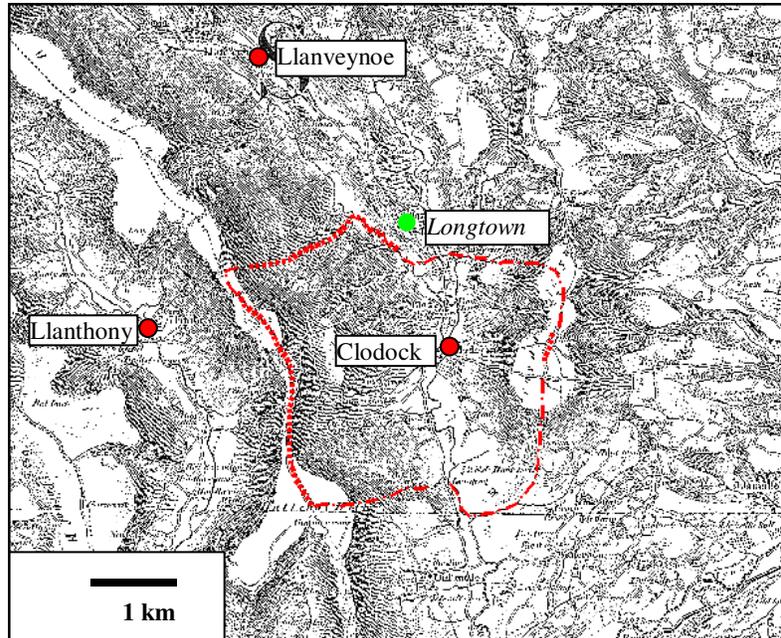


Figure 4: The boundaries of Merthir Clitauc in the 8th century. Based on Wedell, 1998. Llanveynoe was perhaps a 6th or early 7th century religious site (see above) and Llanthony may also have been early - it was alleged to be founded on an old chapel of St David (see page 12).

The estates of the church at Clodock seem to have been confirmed or re-established in the early 8th century when King Ithel of Gwent/Glywysing¹ granted 'Merthir Clitauc' to the church of Ergyng/Llandaff. The western boundary of Merthir Clitauc, as defined in the Book of Llandav², ran along Hatterall Ridge, now the border between England and Wales³. From Hatterall Ridge the boundary ran east to the River Olchon, meeting it at a point west of Longtown, from whence it ran south, downstream. At some point this boundary crossed the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Olchon and the Monnow, and so included an area called Ynys Alarun, before crossing the Monnow and running up Mynydd Merddin. (A translation of the charter appears in appendix B) The boundary so defined appears to exclude the area to the north-west of Ynys Alarun which is now occupied by Longtown.

In 722 the British won a victory over the English at Pencon in Ergyng⁴. The victor would have probably been Ithel ap Morgan who had made the grant at Clodock, and the temporary result would have been the security of Ergyng. However, the initiative passed to the Mercians by 743 when Cuthred of Wessex joined the Mercian king, Æthelbald, in laying waste the border lands. In 745 Ithel had regained control of Ergyng and returned 11 churches there to Bishop Berthwyn after the Saxon devastation (Davies, W, 1979, p113). In 757 Offa became king of Mercia and after a battle at Hereford in 760, seems to have established a truce

¹ Ithel ap Morgan was active during the years 710 to at least 745 (Davies, W, 1979, p75)

² The Book of Llandaff was produced in the 12th century by the see of Llandaff in support of its dispute with the sees of Hereford and St David's over diocesan boundaries. Despite the litigious nature of the work (e.g. - the elevation of the early bishops to metropolitan status), Wendy Davies (1979) has demonstrated that the early grants quoted in it are almost certainly authentic. The definitive text, used by most researchers, was prepared by J G Evans in 1893.

³ The boundaries of this, and other lands granted to the church, are traced out in an undergraduate dissertation by Lynda Rollason (1975) from which this description of Clodock's boundaries are drawn.

⁴ Pencoyd in Archenfield, southern Herefordshire.

with Glywysing/Gwent. Ithel had died some time shortly after 745 and the British (or by now perhaps Welsh) would have been led by one or more of his sons – Ffernfael, Rhodri, Rhys and Meurig. There is no record of the terms of this truce but direct evidence for grants of land in Ergyng by kings of Glywysing ceases in the time of Ffernfael ap Ithel who died in 775 (Noble, 1983). Increasingly under pressure from Mercia and the Mercian sub-kingdom (that of the Magonsaetan) based in northern Herefordshire, Ergyng seems to have been forced into direct political subservience to its powerful neighbour possibly from this time, and by the end of the 9th century at the latest (Davies, W, 1982, p102). Although it maintained its own British laws and customs for centuries,¹ it became more and more part of the Mercian and finally Saxo-Danish kingdoms. This development brought the English power to the eastern border of Ewyas.

Offa marked the border between Mercia and the British kingdoms by the great earthwork now known as Offa's Dyke (Fox, 1955, p279). There is no dyke between Bridge Sollers in Herefordshire and Redbrook in Gloucestershire, where, to the east of Ewyas, Ergyng may have formed a buffer area. However, whatever peace agreement Offa came to with the Welsh, sporadic warfare continued throughout his reign and perhaps the border here was never sufficiently established to be permanently marked.²

Kings in Wales recognised English overlordship in the time of Alfred the Great of Wessex, when the threat was Danish. In 919 a unified English state became implicit when Edward the Elder took control of Mercia and explicit in 924 when Æthelstan was recognised as King of Wessex and, independently, as King of Mercia. At Hereford in 939 Æthelstan negotiated a yearly tribute which included 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of silver and 25,000 oxen from the Welsh princes, before marching south against the Britons of Cornwall.

It was of course in the interest of English kings to discourage Welsh unity. This interest was abetted by the Welsh custom of sub-dividing property, including kingdoms, among male members of a family – monarchy was not the norm and there were often several kings of a territory at the same time (Davies, W, 1982, p102). Rhodri Mawr - Rhodri the Great, created a large kingdom in the 9th century, unifying Gwynedd, Powys and Seisyllwg, and defeating a Danish army under Horn in 856 (Davies, J, 1994, p84). This structure disintegrated on Rhodri's death in battle against the English in 877.

By the early 10th century there was also a threat from the south. In 914 Danes raiding up the Severn Estuary captured Bishop Cyfeilliog of Ergyng. The seriousness of the Danish threat often brought the English and Welsh into alliance, and it was the English who ransomed the bishop (Davies, W, 1982, p116-117).

It was not only from the east and south that Ewyas was to be threatened. In 904 Llywarch ap Hyfaidd died and his kingdom of Dyfed was taken over by his brother-in-law Hywel ap Cadell ap Rhodri (Rhodri Mawr's grandson), king of Seisyllwg,

¹ A form of the old Welsh system of inheritance, gavelkind, continued in Archenfield (as it was later known) until 1925 (Taylor, 1997, p29).

² Sir Cyril Fox presents a cogent argument for the dyke as a negotiated frontier. However, David Hill, who has excavated extensively on the dyke, has argued in an article in *British Archaeology* that the dyke proper ran for only 64 miles – between Rushock Hill near Kington, Herefordshire, and Llanfynydd near Wrexham, other earthworks having become confused with Offa's work. The dyke as so defined was a defensive structure between Mercia and Powys only, and should be viewed as a Mercian response to a serious military threat from Powys (Hill, 2000). This article drew a critical response from Margaret Worthington, who had co-directed several projects, which accused Hill of some factual errors but did not refute the main thesis (letter in *British Archaeology* 57, February 2001).

better known to history as Hywel Dda - Hywel the Good¹. Hywel also took over Brycheiniog, on Ewyas's north-western border, and the combined territory became the kingdom of Deheubarth. In 942 Deheubarth was united with Powys and Gwynedd, and Hywel was master of all Wales except for Morgannwg (Glamorgan) (Davies, J, 1994, p85). As was the case with that of his grandfather, Rhodri, Hywel Dda's unified kingdom of Powys, Gwynedd and Deheubarth did not survive for long, splitting up again into its original component parts. The only time Wales was to be united under one monarch was during the reign of Gruffydd ap Llewellyn (see below).

In the mid 10th century there were seven cantrefs in Glamorgan. These are listed in the Book of Llan Dâv (Rees, 1840, p512). The sixth was Gwent-isgoed and the seventh, 'Gwent-uchgoed, and Ystrdyw and Ewyas'.² As the Reverend Rees translates from the Book of Llandaff, at this time King Morgan Hen³ 'enjoyed the whole of Glamorgan in peace and quietness' (p513). Deheubarth then moved to annexe Ewyas and Ystradyw.⁴ Both kingdoms recognised the English king Edgar⁵, as suzerain, and it was to him that they turned for arbitration (ibid.). The result was that Glamorgan/Gwent retained the commote of Ewyas for the time being and resisted what was may have been a threat to its independence.

In 1039 Gruffydd ap Llewellyn killed Iago ap Idwal and gained possession of Gwynedd and Powys. In that year he defeated Leofric, earl of Mercia at Rhyd-y-groes, near Welshpool. It may have been in response to the growing power of Gruffydd that, with domination of Eryng, or Ircingafeld (Archenfield) in English, complete, moves were made to expand the English territory. In about 1046 Osbern Pentecost, a Norman follower of Edward the Confessor, built a castle within Ewyas, at the place now known as Ewyas Harold. This castle, together with one at Richards Castle, appears to be the first built in Britain. The Ewyas castle was a portent. Short-lived as the first castle proved to be, it was nonetheless the castle of a Norman lord on Welsh territory, and as such deserves its place in history.⁶

In 1052, Ralph⁷, Edward the Confessor's Norman nephew was created Earl of Hereford, where he too seems to have constructed a castle. In that year Gruffydd ap Llewellyn was ravaging Herefordshire and was fought by natives and Frenchmen from the castle [of Hereford] - the Anglo Saxon Chronicle (D) recounts that many good Englishmen were killed and Frenchmen too.⁸

The re-instatement to favour of Earl Godwine and his sons led to the expulsion of the Norman party and Osbern and a companion, Hugh, surrendered their castles and fled for shelter with King Macbeth of the Scots, who received them kindly⁹. The castle at Ewyas was probably dismantled at this time.

For the English worse was to follow. In 1055 Gruffydd ap Llewellyn, gained possession of Deheubarth and led a Welsh army towards Hereford. With him was

¹ Good is a relative term in medieval history. Hywel probably gained Dyfed by having his brother-in-law murdered. The sobriquet 'Good' presumably relates to Hywel's creation of a legal code.

² The implication here may be that the commotes of Ystrdyw and Ewyas did not form part of a cantref.

³ Morgan the Old – King of Glywysing/Gwent in circa 930 to 974

⁴ Hywel Dda died about this time, and it may have been his son Owain who was responsible for this incursion. Owain ap Hywel was certainly king by the time of the English arbitration.

⁵ Edgar, King of the Mercians and Northumbrians from 957, King of the West Saxons from 959.

⁶ John Duncumb (1812, p 276) quotes Dr Powell's History of Wales regarding a siege of this castle by a Welsh force in 1046.

⁷ Known as Ralph the Timid - it was Ralph's son Harold who was to give his name to Ewyas Harold.

⁸ in Douglas and Greenaway, 1981

⁹ Florence of Worcester in Douglas and Greenaway, 1981

Aelfgar, the outlawed Earl of East Anglia¹, with a force of eighteen ships companies of Vikings from Ireland. Ralph led his force of Normans and English to meet them. In the battle that followed Ralph was decisively beaten and the Welsh, with their Viking allies entered and burnt the town of Hereford. The cathedral was plundered and seven priests killed. Of Gruffydd, the Brut y Tywysogyon records – ‘and thereupon with vast spoil and booty he returned to his land happily victorious’ (Jones, 1955, p25).

The combined militias of England were put under the command of Harold Godwinson who forced the Welsh back into the Black Mountains, west of Hereford, while he camped somewhere beneath. The stalemate was utilised by Harold to rebuild the defences of the town of Hereford. The Norman innovations, the castles, seem not to have been rebuilt at this time and the English made no attempt to annex Welsh territory.

In 1056 the new Bishop of Hereford, Leofgar, who had been Earl Harold's chaplain, led an army into Wales. He and many of the Hereford gentry were killed at a battle at Glasbury. Some sort of negotiated peace followed in which parishes, which had been lost by Llandaff to Hereford with the English expansion, were returned (Brooke, 1986, p10).

Repulsed, but not defeated, by the English, Gruffydd seized Glamorgan, expelling its ruler, Cadwgan ap Meurig, and for the first time Wales was unified under a single king. The unity died with Gruffydd. On 5th August 1063 Gruffydd was murdered in Snowdonia and his kingdom disintegrated. Gruffydd's half brothers, Bleddyn and Rhiwallon became rulers of Gwynnedd and Powys, and Maredudd ap Owain became king of Deheubarth. Caradog ap Gruffydd ap Rhydderch seized Gwent and Gwynllŵg, leaving the rest of Glamorgan under the rule of the reinstated Cadwgan ap Meurig.

The Norman Conquest of England radically changed the balance of power on the border. William fitz Osbern become Earl of Hereford, and was granted wide powers. He built castles at Chepstow, Monmouth, Clifford and Wigmore and the castles at Hereford and Ewyas Harold were rebuilt. In 1073 the Normans² ravaged Ceredigion and Dyfed, moving into areas that the English had never penetrated. By 1086, the ancient Welsh kingdom of Gwent, with its origins in Roman Britain and the civitates of the Silures at Caerwent³, had ceased to exist.

The new reality is demonstrated by a death-bed grant of 100 acres, made to the church by Caradog ap Rhiwallon in about 1075, in which he remembered his many sins, including the murder of his brother Cynan. This is made with the guarantee of Roger, Earl of Hereford and lord of Gwent, son of William fitz Osbern - 'comitis henordie & domini guenti Rogerii filii Willelmi filii Osberni' (Evans, p274).

In the castlery of Ewyas Earl William (fitz Osbern) gave 4 carucates of waste land to Walter de Lacy. Walter was the younger brother of Ilbert de Lacy, who founded the Honour of Pontefract in Yorkshire (Wightman, 1966) and was himself a member of fitz Osbern's household. He held this land, which is now Longtown, of the earl. Walter's other holdings included land elsewhere in Herefordshire including Weobley. The various Lacy family holdings have given the suffix to villages throughout Herefordshire – Holme Lacy, Stoke Lacy, Mansell Lacy. William fitz Osbern died in 1072 and in 1074 his heir, Roger of Breteuil inherited the earldom (see above).

¹ Aelfgar was the son of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, whom Gruffydd had defeated at Welshpool in 1039, and Godifu or Godiva.

² The Normans are always the French – *y Freinc* – to the Brut y Tywysogyon (Jones, 1955).

³ From whence the name *Gwent*. Venta, the Roman name, is the second element in Caer-WENT.

In 1074 Roger of Breteuil, rebelled. Walter de Lacy, together with Urse d'Abitot, Sheriff of Worcester and the Saxon clerics Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester and Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham, raised an army against Roger and prevented him crossing the Severn. In 1075 Roger forfeited his lands for revolt, Walter became a tenant-in-chief of the crown (Hillaby, 1985). Walter was killed in an accident in 1085 and his lands passed to his son Roger de Lacy, who is recorded as holding them in the Domesday Book. In Domesday, Roger's total Herefordshire holdings amount to 14 demesne and 50 tenants' manors (Hillaby, 1985, p195). To the south of Clodock the village of Walterstone, may have been named after Walter de Lacy (Marshall, 1938).

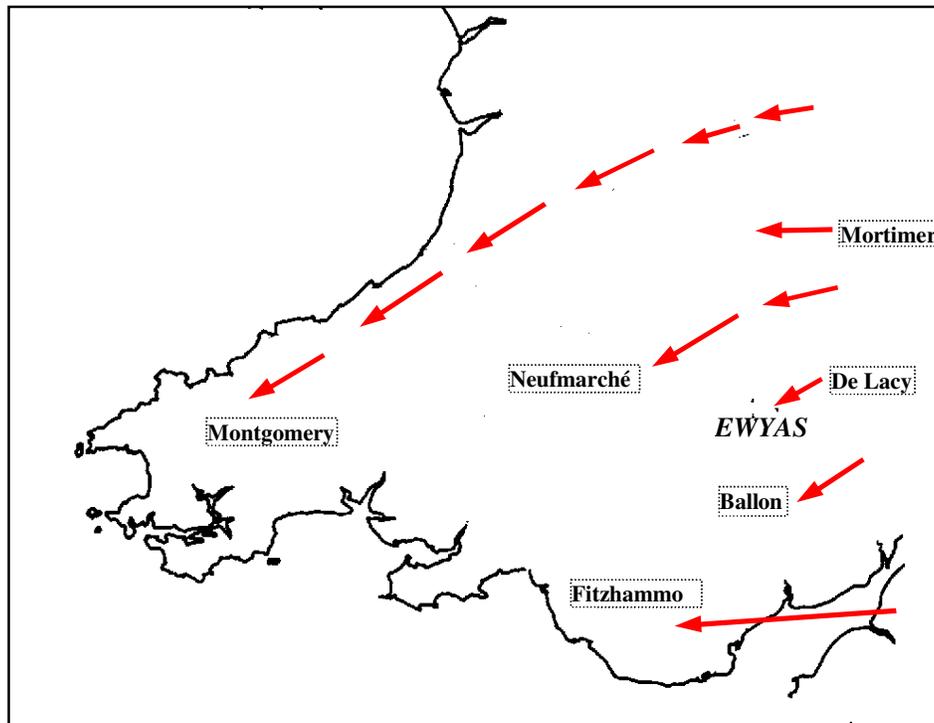


Figure 5: The Norman penetration of South Wales

Domesday records that Alfred of Marlborough held the castle of Ewyas of the king (Thorn and Thorn). This was presumably the re-built Pentecost Castle. On Roger's holding at what became Longtown (within the boundary of Ewyas - 'in fine Ewias') were 4 Welshmen who pay two sesters of honey. They had 1 plough and 3 slaves (Thorn and Thorn).

In 1088 Roger de Lacy rebelled against William II. His father's old ally Bishop Wulfstan, stopped him, in turn, from crossing the Severn. He made peace with the king that time but rebelled again and was finally banished in 1096 and his brother Hugh (Hugh I de Lacy) took over his estates (Phillot, 1871, p 350).

To the west of Hatterall Ridge is the Vale of Ewyas, the valley of Afon Honddu (the river Honddu). It was here that William, a soldier and kinsman of Hugh's, is recorded as chancing across a ruined chapel. The religious experience inspired by the site – allegedly where St David once lived as a hermit – led to him deciding to become a hermit himself. Ernisius, a former chaplain to Henry I's queen, Matilda, joined him. Here was founded the Augustinian Abbey of Llanthony (Cowley, 1977). The de jure extent of Hugh's lands are reflected in the

endowment of the abbey with lands in the Honddu valley, as well as in Walterstone, Llancillo and Rowlestone (Wedell, 1998, p8).

Hugh died some time between 1115 and 1120 and many of his lands passed into the hands of his son-in-law Payn fitz John¹. In about 1135 Gilbert de Lacy² arrived in England and began the process which by 1157-1158 would gain him most of the lands which had been held by the family at the time of Hugh's death (Wedell, 1998, p11).

Gilbert became a Templar in about 1160 and left England to fight in the Holy Land, having passed his estates to his son Robert. Robert appears to have died around 1162 and the de Lacy estates passed to his brother, the second Hugh de Lacy, a major figure in his time.³

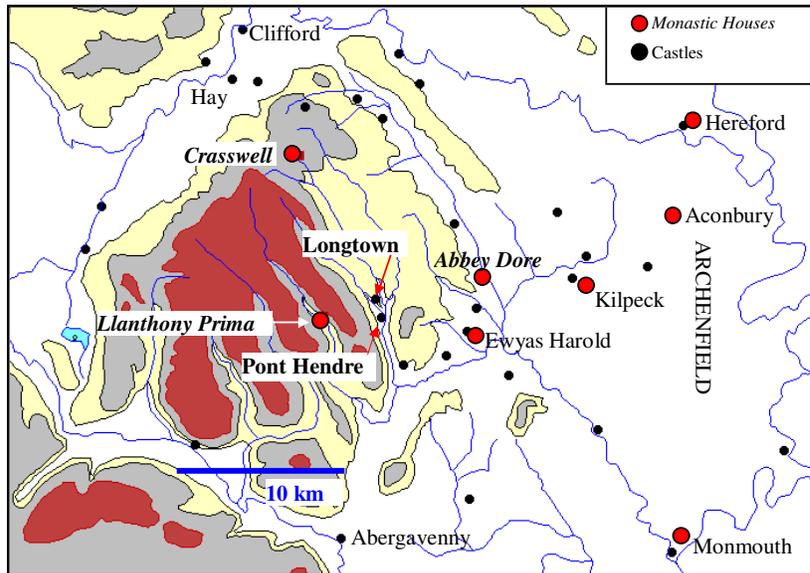


Figure 6: The Normans in Ewyas

On 25th July 1186 Hugh II de Lacy was decapitated by Gilla-gan-inathair O'Mee, an Irishman of his household, as Hugh was showing him how to use a pick in the moat of Durrow Castle.⁴ Until his lands were returned to his son Walter in 1189, the de Lacy lands in Herefordshire were administered on behalf of the crown. During this period money was spent on the castles of 'Euvias, Novi Castelli et Wibelay' (Remfrey, 1997).

What this implies has been the subject of some dispute. Euvias and Wibely presumably refer to Ewyas Lacy and Weobley castles - but what is the Novi Castelli - the new castle? The most common interpretation is that the motte and bailey castle at Pont Hendre is the original castle at Ewyas Lacy and therefore that is the Euvias referred to. Longtown, by this reasoning would be the new castle. Peter Ellis (1997) disputes this, arguing that a demonstrably long developmental sequence at Longtown castle must imply a fairly early post-conquest date for its motte. It is difficult to see how this debate can be resolved.

¹ Payn was the husband of Hugh's daughter Sybil.

² Probably, but not certainly, the son of the banished Roger

³ After participating in Henry II's invasion of Ireland, Hugh was granted Dublin and the kingdom of Meath - Irish lands endowed Llanthony.

⁴ One cannot avoid the conclusion that the de Lacys were unfortunate in their involvement with construction work. In 1085 the death of Walter I de Lacy had been caused by falling from St Peter's Church in Hereford while it was building. It should perhaps be added that some versions have O'Mee concealing an axe beneath his cloak (Hillaby, 1985, p199).

Walter II de Lacy founded a Grandmontine priory at Craswell, near the source of the Monnow high on the Black Mountains. Charters granted to Craswell the ninth sheaf from Walter's English and Welsh manors and 600 acres in the 'New Forest' – an area running from the Monnow west across the mountains as far as Talgarth. Walter's wife founded a nunnery at Aconbury (Hillaby, 1985, p197).

Walter had been outlawed and his lands taken into the hands of the crown in 1194. Reconciliation led to their return in 1198, but another split occurred in 1210. In 1213 his lands were returned again, and the ten-year period which followed may coincide with much of his activity in the Marches (Hillaby, 1985, p207).

In 1201 Llewellyn ap Iorwerth, prince of Gwynedd (Llewellyn I), swore an oath of allegiance to King John of England.¹ Provoked by royal and Marcher expansionism, Llewellyn rebelled in 1212 and attacked Marcher lordships, seizing Shrewsbury in 1215. The Welsh land laws were specifically recognised in Magna Carta that year in which the three legal systems were identified - English law, the Welsh law - that of Pura Wallia, and the law of the Marches - Marchia Wallie.

Llewellyn's campaigns gained him further territory and a number of castles, including Carmarthen and Cardigan, and he threatened Brecon. In 1218 the Treaty of Worcester confirmed him as being pre-eminent in Wales, but the troubles were not brought to an end. The Anglo-French, particularly William the Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and the Justiciar Hubert de Burgh, brought Llewellyn under increased military pressure. At the Battle of Ceri in 1228², Llewellyn gained total victory over de Burgh, and in 1231 he burned the towns of Baldwin's Castle, Radnor, Hay, and Brecon, 'and he destroyed the castles to the ground' (The Brut - Jones, 1955). Llewellyn remained a danger to his enemies in Wales and the March until his death in April 1240.

In 1255 another Llewellyn, Llewellyn ap Gruffydd (Llewellyn II), defeated and imprisoned his two brothers and became sole ruler of Gwynedd. Within two years he had gained effective control of Meirionnydd, Builth and Gwrtheyrnion and by 1258 he had been accepted as overlord by Powys, Deheubarth and Glamorgan. Simon de Montfort's rebellion indirectly aided Llewellyn and in that year, Simon, in the name of the crown, recognised him as Prince of Wales at Pipton near Glasbury. Glasbury's position was significant, lying on the north-western border of Ewyas. For the first time in nearly 200 years the Kingdom of England recognised as legitimate a Welsh political entity with its borders within sight of Ewyas. Longtown was then very much a border site.

The end of the century saw Edward I's campaigns in Wales culminating in the death of Llewellyn in battle on 11th December 1282. In English³ eyes Wales had ceased to exist as a nation and would not have a recognised political organisation for over 700 years.

The castle at Longtown, together with those at Hay, Monmouth, St Briavels and Abergavenny were centres of royal operations against Llewellyn I in 1233, and it was visited by Henry III in September of that year (Hillaby, 1985, p223). Walter II de Lacy was by this time heavily in debt and in 1235 John fitz Geoffrey acquired Ewyas Lacy (ibid.). Walter died in 1238.

¹ Llewellyn was John's son-in-law, having married his illegitimate daughter, Joan, but dynastic marriages did not necessarily prevent conflict.

² The *Brut* records that at Ceri the wounded William de Broose the Younger was taken prisoner. The Welsh, as Giraldus Cambrenis records, were a hospitable people, but when in 1230 William was found in Llewellyn's chamber with 'king John's daughter, the prince's wife' he had transgressed the bounds of permissible behaviour. He was hanged.

³ It may, by this time, be just possible to use the term English for all classes in the English kingdom. In 1362 Edward III had addressed parliament in the English language rather than French.

The de Lacys were responsible for the construction of castles at Weobley and Ludlow. Both castles were associated with early boroughs. Ludlow appears to be a new plantation but Weobley was already a settlement and the street plans of the two boroughs illustrate the difference (Noble, 1964, p65).

Weobley became a fairly prosperous borough with its own Jewish community in the late 12th century and with specialist trades by the 13th and 14th centuries (Sherlock and Pikes, 2001, p 7). Ludlow was even more successful becoming a very prosperous borough by the mid 13th century when perhaps a third of its population were recent immigrants (Faraday, 1991, p137). Its wealth largely derived from wool and its population is estimated to have varied between 750 and 2000 between 1200 and 1500AD (ibid, p139).

The name Ewyas Lacy is first recorded in 1219 (Coplestone-Crow, 1989) but the date of the founding of a borough at what was to become known as Longtown¹ is unknown. It may have been during the 12th century, for the earliest reference to a Nova Villa is in 1232 (Coplestone-Crow, 1989); but an early 13th century or even a late 11th century date cannot be excluded. In 1287 a grant by Felicia, daughter of Kenewrik Vaughan of land in the fee of Mordicston, described this land as adjoining the high road to le Neuton at Ewyas Lacy.² Another 13th century deed refers to property in the fee of Neutone in the lordship of the prior of Llanthony Prima in the fee of Ewyas Lacy.³

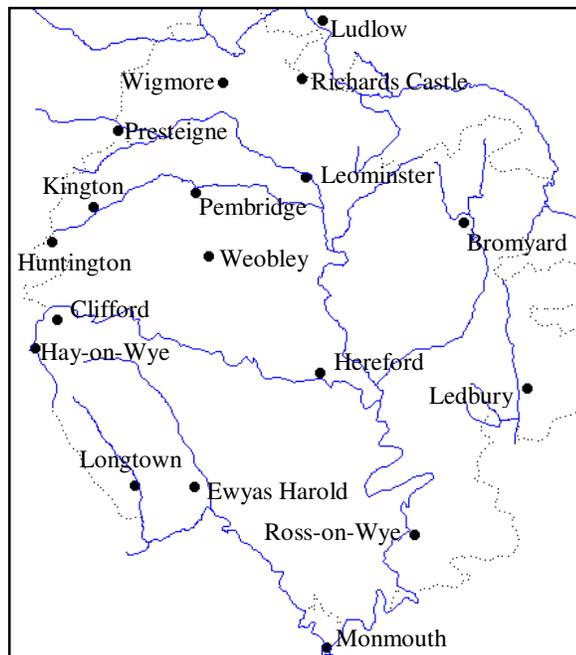


Figure 7: Medieval boroughs in Herefordshire

It is more than likely that the first burghers at the new borough were immigrants to the area. An early foundation would tend to make it likely that these would be French, perhaps encouraged by the granting to the borough of the laws of Breteuil. These laws, based, as the name suggests, on those of Earl William fitz Osbern's borough of Breteuil in Normandy, were introduced to the town of Hereford by him. They can be shown to have been enjoyed by the boroughs of

¹ The terms Longa Villa and Longtown of Ewys are use in the mid 16th century (Coplestone-Crow, 1989)

² Deeds of the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer - A.6573 - 2nd October 1287

³ Deeds of the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer - A12007 - undated, but 13th century

Bideford, Lichfield, Ludlow, Preston and Shrewsbury. In Herefordshire although only what is possibly the last borough founded, Pembridge, certainly had them, Frank Noble (1964, p65) suggests that as the Lacy borough of Ludlow possessed them, then it is likely that Weobley did also. By extension – if any Lacy boroughs possessed these laws it seems reasonable to suppose that they all did, and that therefore the third local Lacy borough, the new town at Ewyas, did also.

Ewyas Lacy was one of the few border boroughs which possessed fairs before Edward I's conquest of Wales in the late 13th century. Others were at Ewyas Harold, Dorstone, Clifford and Kington (O'Donnell, 1971, p190).

There were apparently 100 burgages at Longtown in 1310 (Beresford and Finberg, 1973). This represents a respectably sized borough, by 1300 Carmarthen, a major town, had 281 burgesses, while the new Edwardian foundations at Conwy and Caernarfon had 112 and 70 respectively (Davies, J, 1994, p172).

On the 7th June 1307 Edward I died at Burgh by Sands. He was succeeded by Edward of Carnarfon, Edward II.

The years 1314 to 1318 saw a series of bad harvests. In 1315 in particular heavy rains ruined the harvest throughout Europe (McKisack, 1959, p49). The Anglo-French were having other troubles, mainly of their own making.

In 1314 at Bannockburn Edward II's army defeated by Robert Bruce included a large number of archers from Wales and the Marches. After Bannockburn, the Scots raided south in 1314 and 1315. In May 1316, Anglo-French troubles in Ireland were compounded when Robert's brother Edward Bruce was crowned King of Ireland, and in April 1316, having wasted large parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, achieved a major strategic objective by the capture of Berwick (McKisack, 1959, p35-41).

In 1316, Llewellyn Bren rebelled in Glamorgan. This rebellion only lasted a few weeks but was indicative of the mood of at least some of the Welsh.

In summer 1321 the Lords Ordainers forced Edward to banish the Despensers. The Ordainers suffered a serious reverse when Edward defeated Lancaster, Hereford and Clifford at the Battle of Boroughbridge on 16th March 1322. The Ordinances were repealed and the Despensers returned and were granted almost the whole of South Wales. Lancaster was tried and executed at Pontefract. Present at the trial was Edmund fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel.

In April 1322 Arundel was commissioned to raise 200 men in Ewyas Lacy and Ewyas Harold. These were to be at Newcastle-upon-Tyne by the octaves of Holy Trinity.¹ In July a mandate was issued to John Wrothe 'keeper of the land of Ewyaslacy' to levy a hundred footmen from that land and lead them to the king.² These troops were certainly needed – the truce with the Scots had expired and they raided as far south as Preston.

In 1324 the people of Ewyas petitioned that Richard Wroth, his daughter Alice, and John Wroth had committed murder and theft and received and maintained thieves and felons and supported Roger Mortimer, the king's enemy and rebel.³ In 1326 a commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued in response to a petition by

¹ Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Edward II, 9th April 1322 – the octaves of Holy Trinity was the eighth day after Trinity Sunday counting the feast day itself as the first day. Trinity Sunday is the Sunday following Pentecost (Whit Sunday) which is itself seven weeks after Easter. In 1322 the octaves of Holy Trinity was the 13th June.

² Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Edward II, 15th July 1322

³ Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Edward II, 6th July 1324

the people of Ewyas that Richard Wroth and John Wroth, king's bailiffs, had committed malpractice 'under colour of their office'.¹

On 24th September 1326, Edward's estranged wife Isabella landed in England with Roger Mortimer, by this time her lover. The rebels quickly disposed of the loyalist forces and the Despencers were executed after summary trials – Hugh the Elder at Bristol on 27th October and Hugh the Younger at Hereford on 24th November. Arundel was taken by John Chandos and executed without trial on 17th November.

In 1309 an Inquisition on Theobald de Verdon, had recorded that the castle of Ewyas Lacy, like that of Weobley, was held of the king in chief for one knight's service.² However in 1316 another inquisition recorded that it was held in chief for 'services unknown' while Weobley was held for 2½ knight's services.³

Roger Mortimer, presumably no longer openly referred to as a rebel by the people of Ewyas, was created Earl of March in 1328. The bishops so disliked by Edward, Adam Orleton of Hereford and Henry Burghersh of Lincoln were high in favour with the new regime. Burghersh's brother, Bartholomew Burghersh the Elder, had married Elizabeth one of the three co-heiresses of Theobald, Lord Verdon.⁴ He thus gained her part of Verdon's estate, which included Ewyas Lacy castle. In October 1327, Burghersh was granted the castle of Ewyas Lacy in Wales and the manor of Hethe, county Oxford, during the minority of the heir of Theobald de Verdon, deceased, tenant in chief.⁵ In 1331 licence was given to Bartholomew Burghersh to enfeoff his brother Henry Burghersh of the castle of Ewyas and a moiety of the priory of Llanthony Prima.⁶

In 1359 Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, was pardoned for 'contempt to the king done by him' in sending John de Boa out of Ewyas to Roger's castle at Radnor. De Boa was charged with assenting to the breaking of the Earl's prison at Ewyas Lacy in Wales - whereby many felons escaped. Roger explained that he had no castle in Ewyas where he could keep prisoners safely and could only hold them at his castles in his lordships of Radnor and Builth. He was therefore licensed to hold prisoners from the lordship of Ewyas at either of those places until they could be delivered up according to the law and custom of those parts⁷.

In 1365 Bartholomew de Burghersh was granted a licence to enfeoff Walter Pavely, 'chivaler', John de Gildesburg, Thomas Hungerford and William de Wyndesore of the castle and one moiety of the lordship and land of Ewyas in Wales and three manors elsewhere.⁸

The last major Welsh rebellion was that of Owain Glyn Dŵr who raised his standard at Glyndyfrdwy, on the Dee between Corwen and Llangollen, on 16th September 1400. The rebellion may have been given momentum by the perceived weakness of England following Henry IV's usurpation of the throne in late September 1399. Welsh labourers left their employment in England and Welsh students in the universities returned to join him, as the revolt grew stronger. In August 1402 Owain marched through Gwent and Glamorgan.

On the afternoon of the 3rd September 1403, Richard Kingston, the sometime Dean of Windsor and archdeacon of Hereford, writing at Hereford 'in very great

¹ Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Edward II, 11th March 1326
² Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem for the reign of Edward II, 11th September 1309
³ Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem for the reign of Edward II, 2nd November 1316
⁴ Dictionary of National Biography
⁵ Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Edward III, 20th October 1327
⁶ Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Edward III, 14th December 1331
⁷ Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Edward III, 25th May 1359
⁸ Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Edward III, 16th July 1365

haste' reported that a Welsh force had entered the County (Davies, RR, 1995, p230).

The Welsh were far from united behind Glyn Dŵr. In Brecon, Morgan ap Dafydd Fychan forfeited his three burgages for rebellion but other local men, including Thomas ap David and Dafydd Gam, who was to die in the royal service at Agincourt, supported the king (Davies, Rees, 2000, p56).

Nearby, Ewyas was presumably similarly divided. On the 13th September, at the supplication of the king's kinswoman Joan de Beauchamp, Lady of Abergavenny, a pardon was granted to Gruffydd ap Henry of Ewyas Lacy - 'who lately rose against the king in the company of Owyn Glyndourdy and other Welsh rebels'. Joan's intercession was rewarded with a grant for life of all Gruffydd ap Henry's lands - forfeited for rebellion.¹

The sparing of the rebels' lives was the standard pattern. On the 5th October local loyalist leaders including Richard Kingston, William Beauchamp and John Bodenham were given full powers to take the surrender of any rebel from a swathe of territory including Ewyas, into the king's peace - saving to the king the forfeiture of their lands and goods.² There were Welshmen among these loyalist leaders - John ap William and John Scudamore. Scudamore was a member of the rising Welsh gentry and was deputy steward of Ewyas and constable of Clifford (Davies, RR, 1995).

During the Spring and Summer of 1404 there were Welsh attacks on Abergavenny, Archenfield and Herefordshire (Davies, RR, 1995, p115). In August 1405 a French expeditionary force of some 2,600 men landed at Milford Haven and the Franco-Welsh army roamed across South Wales and Herefordshire (Davies, RR, 1995, p117). Permission was granted to some of the fearful inhabitants of the area to make the best they could of the situation, English officials and Marcher lords did so. The abbot of Dore Abbey was given licence to 'treat with the Welsh rebels for the greater safety of the abbey which is situated near them and is in great peril of destruction and burning' (Davies, RR, 1995, p235).

The English began to attrite the Welsh position. In March 1406 they won a battle at Grosmont and in May, one near Usk (Davies, RR, 1995, p119). In December 1406 John Bodenham, Sheriff of Hereford, was granted 20 marks per annum from the issues of a moiety of the lordship of Ewyas Lacy during the minority of Edmund, son of Roger, late earl of March. This was in recognition of his expenses during the war and particularly those incurred by the relief of the castle and town of Brecon.³

When Henry V succeeded to the English throne in March 1415 he wanted an end to the Welsh problem. Henry offered Owain a pardon but no answer was ever received. Glyn Dŵr's death is not recorded nor is his burying place, but it is considered a strong possibility that he died at the house of his daughter, Alys Scudamore, at Monnington in the Golden Valley, not far from the boundaries of Ewyas.

Longtown thereafter enjoyed less dramatic times. In 1664 there were 179 houses in the parish of which 97 were exempt from paying hearth tax (Faraday, 1972). Its earlier local importance may be reflected in the fact that it was still holding a fair in 1830 (O'Donnell, 1971, p192).

¹ Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Henry IV, 13th September 1403

² Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Henry IV, 5th October 1403

³ Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of Henry IV, 18th December 1406

The tithe records that fields 1422 and 1424 were meadow. These, together with 1414 and 1429 (pasture), 1416 and 1419 (arable) and 1418 (homestead, later the Greyhound) were charity land in the occupation of John Rogers.

In the 20th century field 1422 and field 1424 were both referred to as Greyhound Meadow (Houston, 1999/2). No field names are recorded on the tithe apportionment in 1840. Only 7% of fields are named on the tithe, an extremely low percentage, and it has been suggested that this resulted from English speakers being unable to write Welsh names (*ibid.*). However the adjacent parish of Walterstone has 76% of its fields named in the tithe and in Walterstone some church services were still being conducted in Welsh in 1830 (*ibid.*). Generally it seems likely that English was the dominant language by this time - the ap Roberts had become Proberts and the ap Rhyses, Preece.

In 1852 the last Welsh administrative vestige was removed when the Parishes of Clodock with Longtown, Michaelchurch Escley, Craswell, St Margarets, Ewyas Harold, Rowlestone, Llancillo, Walterstone, Dulas and Llanveyhoe were transferred from the diocese of St Davids to that of Hereford (Houston, 1999/1, p20). To the west of Hatterall Ridge, the other old parishes of Ewyas – Llanthony, Cwmyoy and Oldcastle - were transferred from St David's to the diocese of Llandaff. Another anomaly was removed at this time, the parish of Fwddag in Cwmyoy was not only transferred from St Davids to Llandaff but also from Herefordshire to Monmouthshire, and thereby from England to Wales. In 1921 the Welsh parishes became part of the new Bishopric of Monmouth.

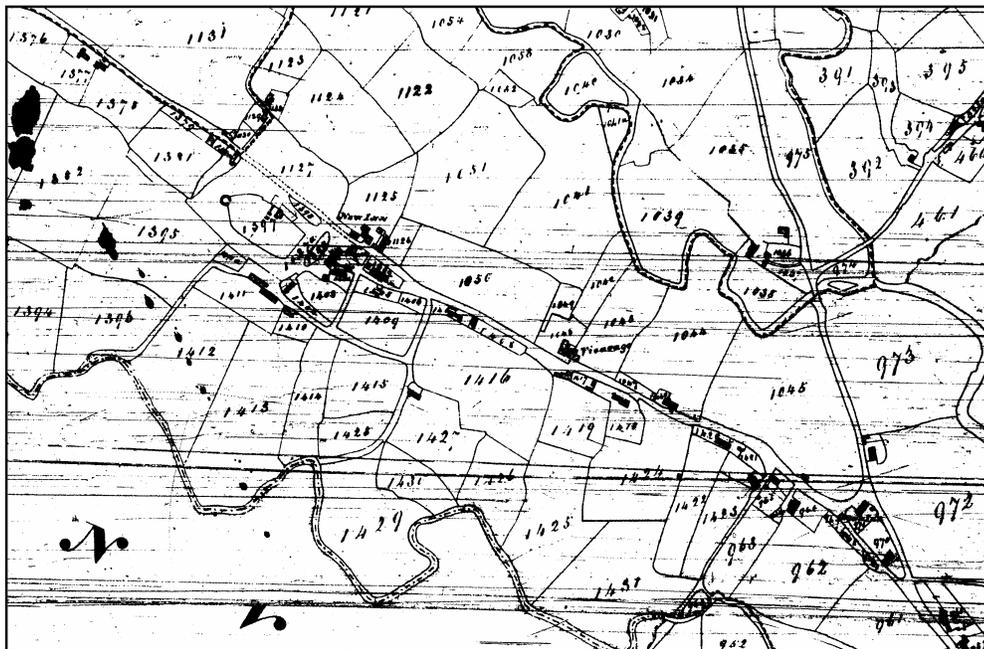


Figure 8: Extract from the tithe map of 1840

The original house at Greyhound Farm had been a public house, The Greyhound, for the second part of the 18th century and most of the 19th, and has been dated to the 16th century in the Department of the Environment listings (DOE, 1986).

The house to the south-east of the Greyhound, Glyneath, had, at the time of the project, just been vacated by Mr and Mrs Cartwright who had moved into the Greyhound. Glyneath had been built in around 1880 by Mrs Cartwright's grandfather. Large windows in a single storey extension on its north-western end evidence an earlier use of this part of the house as a tailor's workshop (Mr

Cartwright, pers comm). Glyneath is shown as a post office on the 1904 1:2500 OS plan (Figure 9).

The farm buildings at Greyhound Farm are post Second World War.

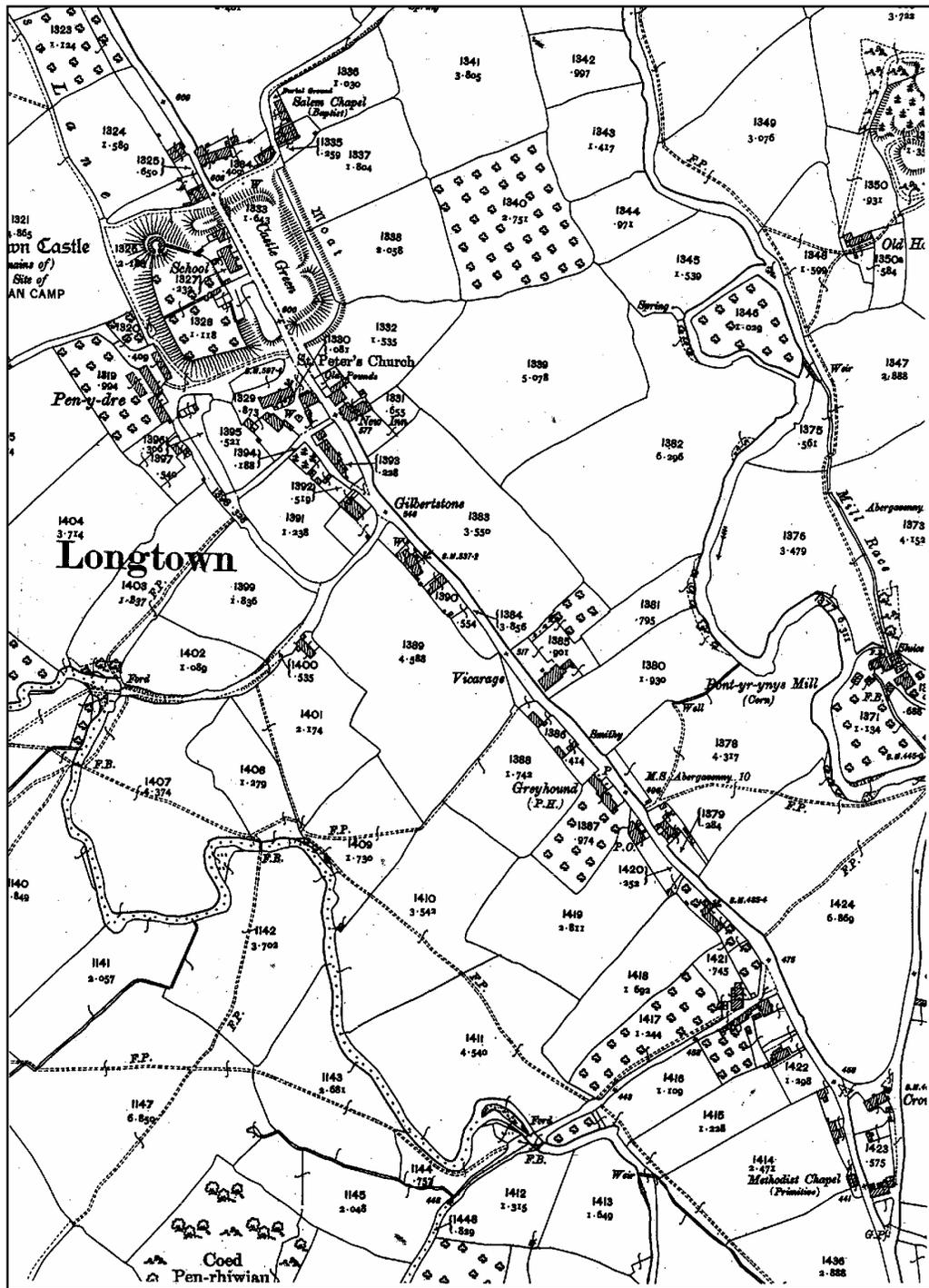


Figure 9: Extract from the 2nd Edition OS 1:2500 plan 1904

Archaeological background

The Ewyas area has considerable evidence of prehistoric activity. Three kilometres west of Longtown, on top of the Black Mountains, there is a cairn and a stone circle. There is also a round barrow at Craswell and two cist burials in the Olchon Valley (Children and Nash, 1994).

Somewhat surprisingly, considering that for many years Longtown was considered likely to be the Blestium¹ of the Antonine Itinerary, there is an absence of Roman material from the village. In fact the survey carried out in 1996 by the then Hereford and Worcester County Council Archaeology Department (Buteux) reported that no pre-Norman evidence had been found within the modern parish of Longtown itself.

The origins of the earthworks which form Longtown Castle² have been variously interpreted. Roman remains are alleged to have been found in the north-eastern bailey in the 19th century and have been used to suggest a Roman military origin for the castle site.³ Recent work has failed to find evidence suggesting Roman occupation (Ellis, 1997, p78)⁴ and such an origin seems now to have little to recommend it. Another interpretation, that Longtown originates as a fort constructed by Earl Harold Godwinson in his campaign against the Welsh in 1055-56 (Remfry, 1997, p30), whilst having some attraction, unfortunately lacks any supporting evidence whatsoever. Suggestions that these earthworks have a pre-historic origin have also been made. The form of the earthworks has long been recognised as unusual, but to date no convincing evidence has emerged to date them.

The structural development of the castle was one of the aspects of Longtown reported on by the then City of Hereford Archaeology Unit in 1991 (Morriss and Williams, 1991). The castle consists of an almost square earthwork aligned north-east to south-west. The north-eastern half of this area forms one bailey, while the south-western half is bisected into two baileys – an outer to the south-east, and an inner. A motte stands at the western corner of the castle and is approached through the inner bailey.

The motte is surmounted by a circular stone keep. Although there is 12th century masonry in this structure, it appears to have been re-used. The date of the keep may be early 13th century, but an earlier date – perhaps late 12th, cannot be discounted, and indeed is the date preferred by Ellis (1997, p80).

Running north-west from the north-eastern castle bank is another fragmentary earthwork⁵ which has been interpreted either as a fourth bailey of the castle (Morriss and Williams, 1991) or as town defences (Buteux, 1996).

To the south-east of the castle another defended area⁶ has been almost obliterated leaving just a few traces of earthworks.⁷ Within this area are Longtown's medieval market place⁸ and its church.

The church of St Peter⁹ at Longtown appears to be originally of a 13th century date, but like the castle, incorporates re-used 12th century masonry. There is no

1 Since demonstrated to be Monmouth.
2 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 1036
3 This was recorded in Kelly's Directories for many years
4 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 31062
5 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 21945
6 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 21946
7 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record numbers 19464 and 19466
8 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 19473
9 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 2362

burial ground and it functioned as a chapel-at-ease to the parish church at Clodock.¹ Considering its proximity, another function may have been as a chapel to the castle.

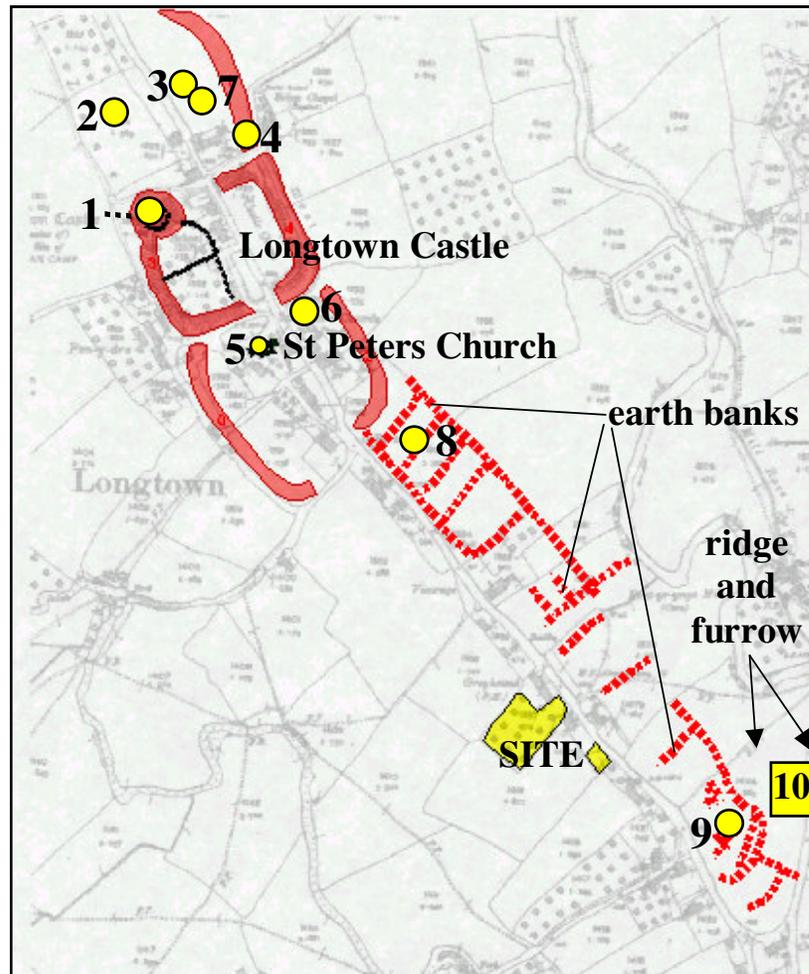


Figure 10: Archaeological Features and Projects in Longtown

1. The keep - Ellis, 1997 (HSMR 31062)
2. The County Primary School (HSMR 24829)
3. Central Kitchens - Stone, 1997 (HSMR 25963)
4. Green Cottage - Williams, D N, 1997 (HSMR 31818)
5. St Peters Church - Shoesmith 1983 (HSMR 22007)
6. *Watching brief* - Edwards 1989 (HSMR 22006)
7. Feature found by geophysical survey - Bartlett, 1984 (HSMR 22004)
8. Anomalies found by geophysical survey - Bartlett, 1984 (HSMR 22004) and visible parch marks 1979 (HSMR 4580)
9. Earthworks recorded by Herefordshire Archaeology – (HSMR 5454)
10. Ridge and furrow (HSMR 9828)

The chapel at Urishay Castle is late 11th or early 12th century – all other surviving Herefordshire castle chapels are of a 13th century or later date, usually

¹ Clodock is clearly a much older settlement (Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 24420), its church (no 1458) being associated with ancient grants and having a tombstone dating from the 6th to 8th centuries on the site.

incorporated within the main range of buildings. The church at Kilpeck is situated just outside the castle (Shoemith, 1987, p717). The church at Longtown was converted for secular use in 1983. Investigations at that time indicated that the archaeological deposits had been destroyed in the 19th century (Shoemith 1983).¹

The site is in an area assumed to have been medieval settlement extending along both sides of the road south-east from the core of Longtown with its castle. Immediately to the north-west, the core of a house which was the old Greyhound Inn² is a 16th century timber-framed cottage to which a larger stone 17th century house has been added (Royal Commission on Historic Monuments, England, 1931). The Greyhound is the oldest domestic building in Longtown (Morriss, 1996, p7).

It has been suggested that the linear settlement, consisting of a series of house platforms, lying outside any defences must date from a time when defences were no longer considered necessary - i.e. the 14th century or later (Remfry, 1997, p29). However, in balance, the 100 burgages recorded at Longtown in 1310 (Beresford and Finberg, 1973) would with difficulty have fitted within the restricted area within the defences.

In 1984 (Bartlett) a geophysical survey³ of large areas of Longtown produced mixed results, possibly due to the thin soil overlying natural sandstone. An east-west feature was found north of the castle (Figure 10 - number 7) and anomalies found in land east of the castle (Figure 10 - number 7). Features had been observed in this latter area in the dry weather of 1979.

Archaeological excavations in Longtown have included excavation within the castle proper in 1978 (Ellis 1997)⁴ and several projects within the presumed borough area.

Observation of works for a new school recorded buried medieval remains within the area of what has been identified as the northern enclosure at Longtown.⁵ In 1997 an evaluation⁶ took place within this area, that is north of the castle and east of the road, and found a thick layer of stone debris lying 0.25 m below the surface. Below this a sondage cut through undated occupation layers indicating significant archaeology (Stone, 1997). Also in 1997, a watching brief at the south-eastern end of the bank of the northern enclosure bank,⁷ while identifying the bank itself, found no dating evidence for it (Williams, D N, 1997).

There is evidence of ridge and furrow lying towards the Monnow at the south-eastern end of the village.⁸

The environmental evidence thus far from Longtown is missing. There has not been a policy of wet-sieving samples and no remains have been hand-collected (Pearson, E A, 1996, p7).

1 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 22007
2 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 9517
3 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 22004
4 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 31062
5 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 24829
6 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 25963
7 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 31818
8 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record numbers 9828 and 9829

3.0 Project aims and objectives

The aims of the project were: -

- To archaeologically examine a representative area of the proposed development
- To make a record of the extent and depth of all such groundwork.
- To make a record of any archaeological features or deposits exposed.
- To record the presence of archaeological material within the trenches and in the spoil removed during excavation, and to retrieve any potential dating evidence.
- To make a record of all finds and any environmental material recovered.
- To ensure that if any environmental evidence was preserved, that a sufficient sample be retained to allow for further analysis.
- To ensure that the location and of the area excavated was accurately recorded on a suitably scaled plan.
- To record negative evidence and to consider its implications.

4.0 Methodology

4.1 Field methodology

The following methodology was employed: -

- A JCB was used to excavate four trenches. Trenches A and B were situated to the rear (south-west) of the farm buildings. Trench C was at the farmyard entrance, adjacent to the road. Trench D was in a detached part of the development site, farther to the south-east.
- Suitably qualified archaeologists monitored all activity that involved disturbance of the ground surface.
- An assessment of the archaeological significance of finds, structures and deposits was made and appropriate action taken.
- Structures and stratigraphic sequences observed were recorded on scaled drawings and the position of all work disturbing the ground, and any archaeological features, was located on them.
- The presence of artefacts and was recorded with a description of their type, quantity and original location.
- All descriptions of structures and deposits, photographic records and drawing numbers were recorded on the relevant data capture documents in accordance with Archenfield Archaeology's standard site recording procedures.
- Significant features were, where possible, photographed next to an appropriate scale rule, and a board displaying a unique context number. Each photographic exposure was recorded in the photographic log.
- Staff carrying out the monitoring of the groundwork followed the guidelines laid down in the Archenfield Archaeology Health and Safety Policy.

- Archenfield Archaeology conforms to the Institute of Field Archaeologists' Code of Conduct and code of Approved Practice for the Regulation of Contractual arrangements in Field Archaeology. All projects are, where applicable, carried out in accordance with IFA Standards and Guidance or Draft Standards and Guidance.

4.2 Processing methodology

All retained artefacts and ecofacts were subjected to further analysis.

All data were entered into a Microsoft ©Access relational database

5.0 Results

5.1 Stratigraphy

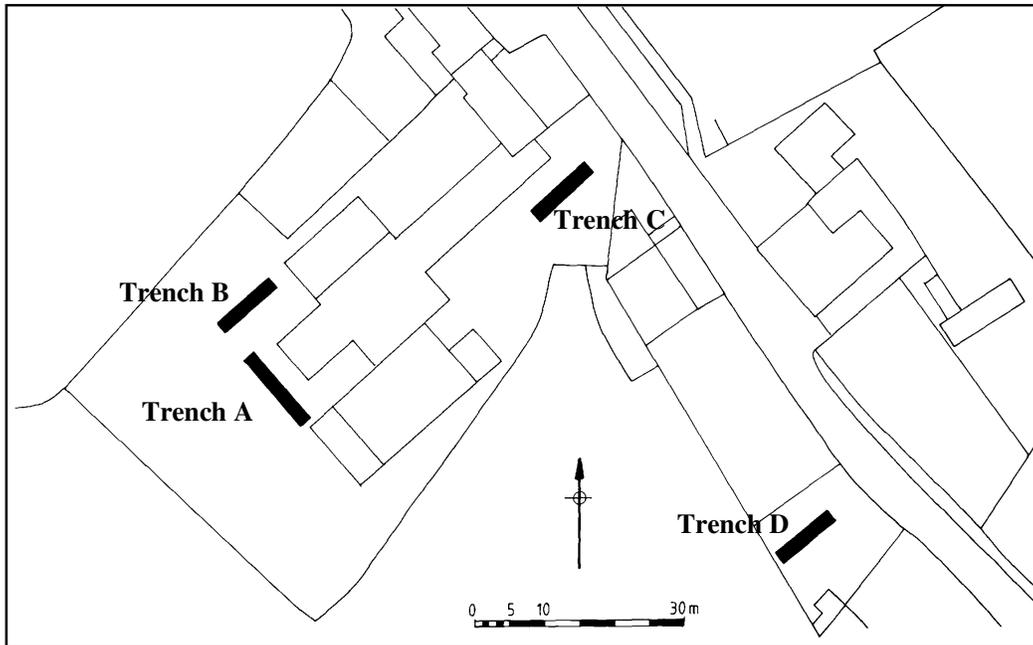


Figure 11: Trench Plan (for position on National Grid see Figure 20, page 46)

Trench A



Plate 1: Trench A from the south-east. The edge of feature 36 is in the centre.

Trench A was aligned north-west to south-east and situated to the south-west of the standing farm buildings. It measured 12 metres by 2 metres. The slope of ground was 26 centimetres from the north-west to the south-east.

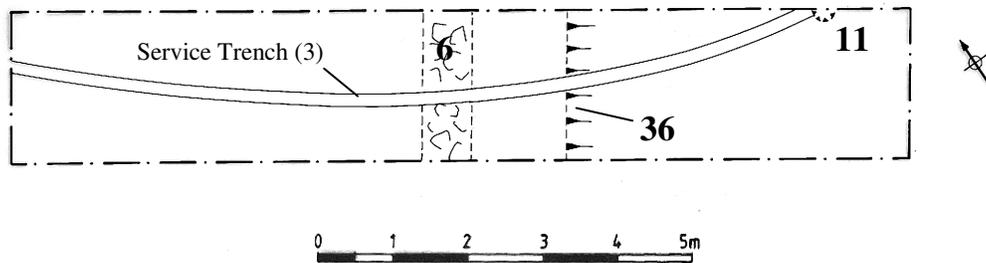


Figure 12: Trench A - plan (for position on National Grid see Figure 21, page 47)

The surface was composed of turf on topsoil (context 1) along its entire length. Below the reddish brown clay loam topsoil, at a depth of 30 centimetres, and extending for 4.5 metres from the south-eastern, lower, end of the trench, was a layer (2) composed of stone and brick in a dark clay loam matrix. This was approximately 30 centimetres thick and contained material of a mid 20th century date. This was lying above a natural subsoil which was the same depth (39cm) lower than the subsoil to the north-west and was identified as a discrete feature (36) with a steep (45°) north-western edge. No other side of this feature was located. (Mr Cartwright remembered that this area was lower before the construction of the 1960s farm buildings.)

Below layer 2 was a service trench (3) which entered the north-east side of Trench A approximately one metre from its south-eastern end and gently curved through the rest of the trench before exiting in the centre of its 2 metre wide north-western end. Its fill (4) contained brick, lumps of natural clay and some nylon. This feature was not excavated but was cut through a red/brown soil (5), which extended throughout the cutting.



Plate 2: Path 6 in Trench A

An alignment of flat local stone (10) crossed trench A at 90° at its approximate centre. These were bedded in a yellow clay (9), 10 centimetres thick, which lay on

a 10 centimetre thick layer of red gravel in a clay matrix (8). Gravel 8 lay in a 1 metre wide, steep sided, flat-bottomed trench (7). The whole structure - trench 7, gravel 8, clay 9 and stone surface 10 forming a path-like feature, (6).

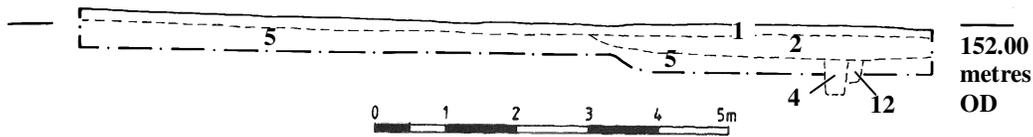


Figure 13: Trench A - section

The only other feature in trench A was a small (30 cm diameter) post-hole (11) on the north-eastern side of the trench. Its fill (12) was a dark, silty clay loam.

A clean natural red and yellow clay was exposed throughout trench A at a depth of 60 to 70 centimetres.

Trench B

Trench B was also situated to the south-west of the standing farm buildings. It measured 10 metres by 2 metres and was aligned north-east to south-west. The slope of ground was 14 centimetres from the north-east to south-west.

As was the case with trench A, the surface was turf on a clay-loam topsoil (13) about 20cm thick overlying a cleaner clay loam (14).

The only feature in trench B was a small (25 centimetres diameter) post-hole (15) against its south-eastern side. Its dark brown fill (16) contained clay pipe.

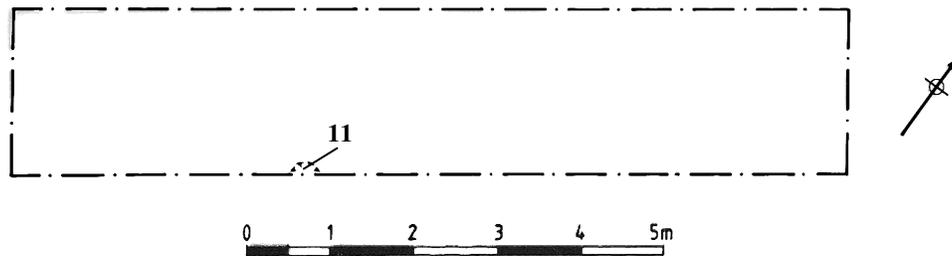


Figure 14: Trench B - plan (for position on National Grid see Figure 21, page 47)

The trench was excavated to a depth of 50 to 60 centimetres, exposing clean natural red clay throughout.

Trench C

Trench C was excavated to the south-east of the buildings of Greyhound Farm. It was aligned parallel to the buildings and at right angles to the road – i.e. north-east to south-west - and measured 10 metres by 2 metres. The area formed the access to the farm buildings from the road. There was a 45 centimetre slope from the south-west to the north-east.

The surface was formed of concrete (17), which had been laid in the 1960s. Below this, a disturbed layer of stone (35) formed an earlier surface, which overlay a dark humic stony soil (18).

Layer 18 overlay a V-profiled ditch (24), which curved north to south through the north-eastern end of the trench. The fill (25) of this ditch was a silty dark brown loam and was only present at the bottom (15-20 centimetres) of the ditch, the

bottom of layer 18 dipping down to form the upper fill. To the east of trench 24 was a reddish brown soil (19), which did not seem to be present elsewhere.

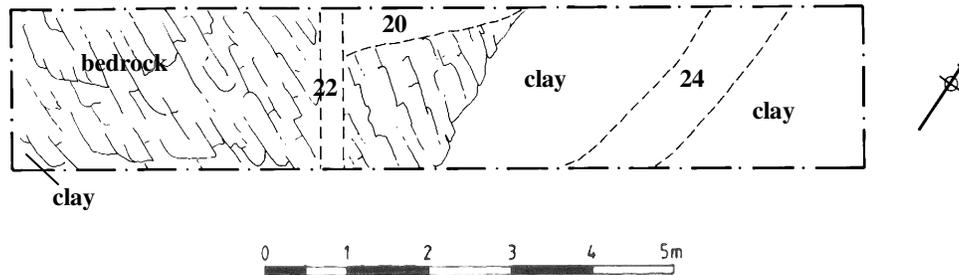


Figure 15: Trench C - plan (for position on National Grid see Figure 22, page 47)

A vertically sided trench (22) crossed the cutting at right angles at a point 3.8 metres from its south-western end.



This was filled by a dark humic soil (23), which covered a ceramic drain. The drain had been inserted to carry waste water, which had been used for cooling, from the milking shed to the adjacent field (Mr Cartwright - pers comm).

To the north-east of trench 22 an outcrop of rock was within 0.5 metres of the 2001 surface. A depression (20) in this rock contained a gravelly light brown soil (21), which produced two fragments of medieval pot. There was nothing to indicate whether this depression was naturally formed or deliberately cut.

Plate 3: Trench C from the south-west

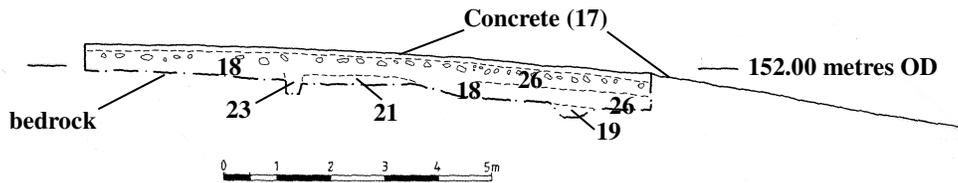


Figure 16: Trench C - section

Natural clay was exposed to both the north-east and the south-west of the rock outcrop.



Plate 4: Ditch 24

Trench D

Trench D was cut through a detached part of the property, which lay to the south-east of the main development and was separated from it by Glyneath House.

The trench was aligned at 90° degrees to the road – i.e. north-east to south-west - and measured 10 metres by 2 metres.

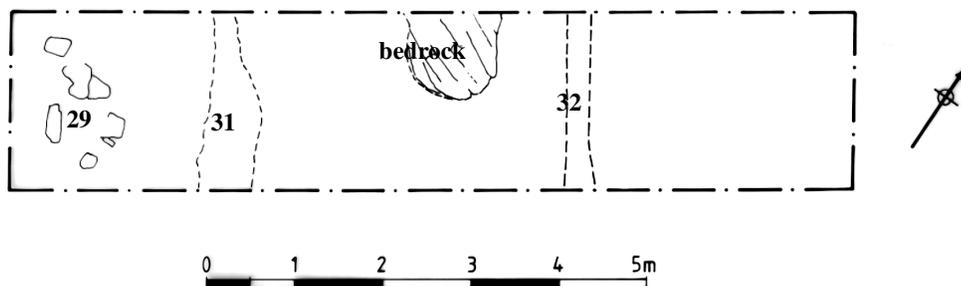


Figure 17: Trench D - plan (for position on National Grid see Figure 23, page 48)

The ground surface at the time of the excavation was formed of stone chippings (27) which had recently been laid. The previous surface, a garden loam which had been the vegetable garden of Glyneath House, had been removed and

formed a mound in the adjacent field. Beneath the stone was what appeared to be the original subsoil, a fairly clean yellow clay (28).

At the south-western end of the trench a scatter of flat stone (29) occupied the position of a path which had connected the house with its outside privy. This path had been removed at the same time as the topsoil, as had the adjacent section of the original stone garden wall between the garden and the field to the south-west. A thin layer of clayey loam (30) above and around the stones seemed to represent part of the original garden soil.



Plate 5: Trench D - field drain 32 is in the foreground

Some 2.4 metres from the south-western end of the trench, a band of red clay with numerous roots (31) crossed it at 90°.

At a distance of 6.5 metres from the south-western end of the trench another feature crossed it, also at 90°. This consisted of a 25 centimetre wide trench some 35 centimetres deep (33). It was loosely filled by vertically placed flat stones measuring up to 35 centimetres along their longest axis, some of them having holes indicative of roof tiles (34). A row of horizontally laid stone formed the top of this feature. This structure (32, composed of 33 and 34) is typical of field drains.

5.2 The pottery

A total of 99 sherds were recovered, of which 37 were recovered from stratified contexts. The overwhelming bulk of the material was of the later post medieval period, consisting of pearl wares, transfer printed blue and white wares, salt glazed stoneware jars and Staffordshire slipwares. Only two contexts (21 and 30) produced pottery of medieval date. Context 21 in trench C produced three sherds, two of which are likely to have come from a jug in a later medieval fabric, probably Hereford A7b (Vince A, 1985, p43). One sherd is a base shed with thumbbed decoration and coated in a green glaze, the second sherd, part of a rim is likely to be from the same vessel, which probably dates to the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. A single sherd of 'Cistercian' ware, a thin walled fabric with a black lead glaze was found in the same context. This is normally dated to the later fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Context 30 in trench D produced a single sherd in a light buff orange fabric. When it was lifted the excavators considered that this may have been a sherd of Severn Valley ware (a common Romano British ware) but on closer inspection this proved inaccurate as the sherd was badly abraded but had traces of a thin clear glaze on its outer surface and is therefore more likely to of medieval date.

The small size of the assemblage and the relative paucity of medieval material make a more detailed study of the assemblage unlikely to yield any further useful information. All the ceramic material has been retained and forms part of the archive.

5.3 The animal bone

A total of 8 pieces of animal bone were retained (total weight 900g) of which 3 pieces came from stratified contexts. The bone was generally well preserved, and two pieces show clear signs of butchery marks, but the small size of the sample means that little can be deduced from further study. All the bone has been retained and forms part of the archive.

5.4 The environmental evidence

As all the excavated features were post-medieval, no processing of soil samples was undertaken. However, a sample of the bottom fill, 25, of ditch 24 was retained and forms part of the archive.

Conclusions

Taken together, the evaluation excavation, the tithe map, earlier excavation reports and observation of earthworks, produced sufficient evidence to attempt an interpretation of the medieval and later land use of the area.

Trenches A and B were both situated within the plot of land marked 1418 on the tithe map (see Figure 8). At this time it was described as 'homestead' and was therefore within the curtilage of the house later known as The Greyhound. This field had been extended to the south-west by 1904 (see 2nd edition OS 1:2500, Figure 9) and had been orcharded.

There is no evidence to suggest that this piece of land has ever been used for anything other than agricultural or horticultural purposes. The two post-holes found, 11 in trench A and 15 in trench B, may be associated with the 19th century orchard. Similarly the stone feature 6 (comprising trench 7, gravel 8, clay 9 and stone surface 10) crossing trench A, seemed to be path which may originally have been ornamental as much as functional, but which seems at any rate to be horticultural.

Trench C was located at the north-eastern edge of tithe plot 1418. The 1840 property boundary marked on the tithe map was present in this trench as the V-profiled ditch, 24. Buried beneath later levelling within the yard area, this ditch was still visible to the south-east of the south-eastern hedged boundary of the property - that is, forming part of the north-western boundary of the adjacent field.

To the south-east of Greyhound Farm, Glyneath was built in about 1880. It would have been this event which, by firmly establishing Glyneath's roadside boundary, precipitated the forward movement of the Greyhound's property boundary to the position which it occupied until summer 2001.

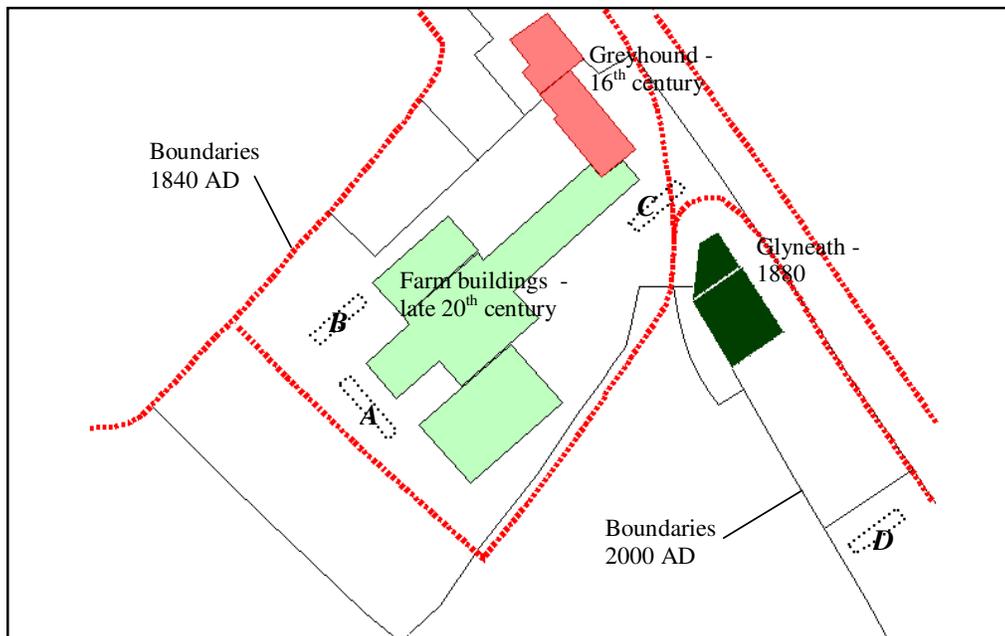


Figure 18: Property boundary movements since 1840

Trench D traversed a piece of ground which, had until recently been the vegetable garden of Glyneath. Until 1880 the Glyneath property had been part of the field to the south-west, marked as 1424 on the tithe and known subsequently as Greyhound Meadow. The only features were a field drain (32), traces of garden path footing (29), and an enigmatic feature (31). This last feature took the form of

a band of red clay with numerous roots crossing the trench at an angle of 90° and therefore parallel to both the modern property boundary and the road.

If the tithe¹ is taken as the earliest evidence of the property boundaries in the immediate area, what then can be inferred by adding some observational evidence into this equation?

Firstly, the properties running along the south-western side of the road are all parallel to the road – none are at right angles to it. This might suggest that all of these properties had their origin in encroachments onto an originally wider road. The high medieval road into Longtown from the south-east seems to have been 22 to 24 metres wide – this is the distance from the rear of the properties to the opposite side of the road. The postulated original road is marked 3 on Figure 19.

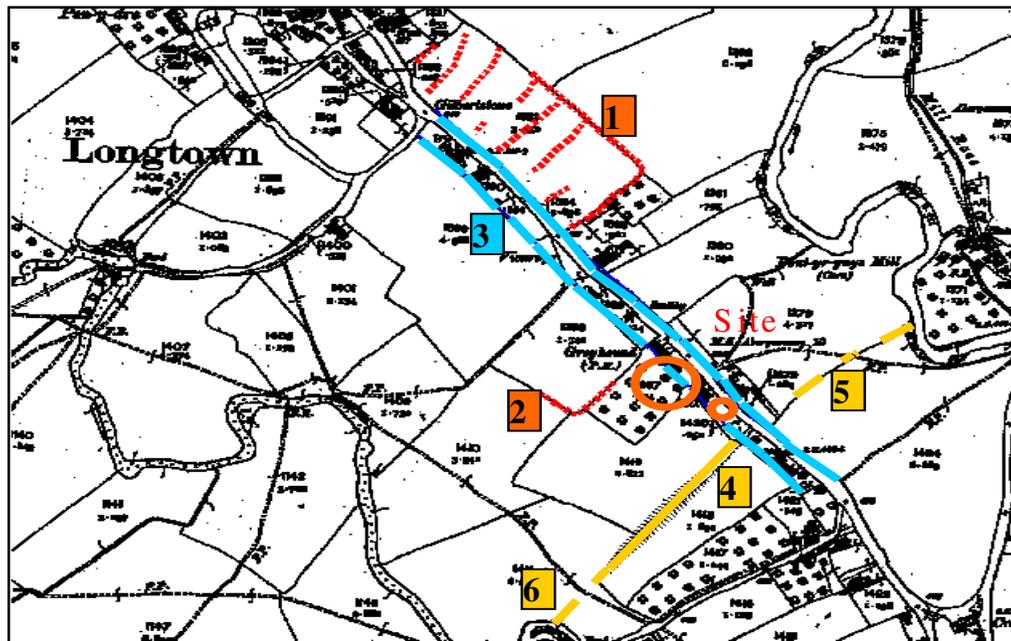


Figure 19: Archaeological features in south-east Longtown

The property boundary south of Glyneath (between the now-detached vegetable garden and the adjacent field) is up to 26 metres from the opposite side of the road. However, feature 31 may represent an original boundary although it is two metres further in than the present one. Although no boundary is shown at this position on the tithe, it is possible that an original linear feature was used, perhaps imperfectly, to define the boundary of the house built in 1880.

Another feature observed during the field project was a positive lynchet (37) forming the southern corner of the field (1419 on the tithe) to the north-west of Greyhound Farm (marked 2 on Figure 19). This seemed similar to the eastern corner of the earthworks to the north-east of the road (marked 1 on Figure 19). The distance from this feature to the south-western side of the road as postulated is approximately 80 metres – the same distance as the rear of the north-eastern earthworks is from the road. This would seem to indicate a symmetrical plan dating from a time when the road was wider.

¹ Tithe maps are clearly not as accurate as later, OS, maps. Nonetheless for most purposes the relative positions of boundaries and buildings were surveyed to a sufficient tolerance, for normal cartographic regression purposes.

In this respect, feature 36 in trench A may be significant. It may represent another terrace or lynchet of this type, which was totally invisible on the surface. Whether they are burgage terraces or remains of some agricultural practice, there is no evidence of these features to the south-east of the hedge defining the south-eastern boundary of Greyhound Farm.

If the linear properties in the south-west side of the road do represent encroachment, this is not the expansion of properties which originally lay to the south-west again of these. If this was the case one would expect that at least some of the roadside properties would extend to their rear – only the Greyhound Farm property is marked as doing so on the tithe map. There is unlikely to have been burgaging on the south-western side of the road when these properties were established, as the latter would have blocked the access of the former to the road.

There is of course the possibility that original burgaging in this area was either abandoned at some relatively early date or that any such burgage plots were never in fact built on. If this is the case, then the possibility of an originally burgaged area being incorporated into fields exists. The 'squatting' on the roadside would then be an attribute of a later re-expansion of the settlement. This developmental sequence, with the later settlement pattern imposed on the earlier one, may be a consequence of depopulation caused by the Black Death in the mid and later 14th century.



Plate 6: The bank crossing the field to the south of the site. This appears to correspond with part of the bounds of Merthir Clitauc as defined in the 8th century grant.

The property boundary to the south-east of the old Glyneath vegetable garden, that is between field 1424 and property 1420 (now Denmark House) on the tithe, extends to the south-east as an earthen bank (38). A hedgerow which once stood on this bank, dividing field 1424 from field 1422 on the tithe and still extant on the 1922 OS, has now been removed. This feature is marked 4 on Figure 19.

The 8th century grant of 'Merthir Clitauc' to the church of Eryng/Llandaff specifies that its boundary ran between the Olchon and the Monnow, enclosing Ynas Alarun. This bank would certainly lie along a possible route of such a boundary.

Its alignment towards the Monnow may be represented by the field boundary marked 5 on Figure 19, and its continuation towards the Olchon is marked 6.

The identification of the land between the Olchon and the Monnow, north-west of their confluence and south-east of Longtown, as Ynys Alarun, is fairly certain. From the east this piece of land is approached by the road from Michaelchurch Escley and Ewyas Harold which crosses the Monnow via Pont yr Ynys – the Bridge of the Island – which gives its name to the adjacent farm.

7.0 Archive deposition

The primary project archive, consisting of the excavated material and any original paper records, will be prepared and stored in accordance with the guidelines laid down in the Institute of Field Archaeologists' guidelines for the preparation and storage of archives. The primary archive will be stored with Hereford City Museum.

A copy of the digital archive, stored on CD and consisting of context, artefact and ecofact data, together with the site plan and selected photographs, will accompany the primary archive.

The client, in consultation with the project manager, will make provision for the deposition of all finds from the excavation with the Hereford City Museum. On completion of the fieldwork and the processing, collation, recording and analysis of the finds from the excavation all finds will be handed over to the museum staff, along with the project archive. Arrangements will be made with the museum for the transfer of title.

8.0 Publication and dissemination proposals

Paper copies of this report will be lodged with the Archaeological Adviser to Herefordshire Council, Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record and Hereford City Library. A short note on the project will be prepared for publication in the Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

CDs of this report, together with the supporting archival material, will be available from Archenfield Archaeology.

The complete photographic record, including the negatives, will be retained by Archenfield Archaeology.

Appendices

Appendix A – The Martyrdom of Clitauc

King Clydawg son of Clydwyn, when he was in his kingdom enjoying peace and administering justice, became a martyr through his virtue, and had a crown of heavenly glory, with the palm of eternal chastity. A certain young woman, daughter of a wealthy man, was in love with him, and said to those who sought her, that she would marry no one but the illustrious Clydawg. The answer of the girl being heard, and she refusing all persons as usual, one of the companions of the king, because he could not obtain her, was filled with an evil spirit and intense desire respecting her; and receiving excitement for bad conduct from the malignity of rashness, and the malice of luxury, on a certain day he killed King Clydawg, innocent as a lamb, near the river Mynwy, while he was waiting for the meeting of hunters, and meditating with great devotion on sacred subjects.

On his death, his acquaintances, companions and friends of noble parentage, having joined oxen to the carriage, began to take away the body from the place, and to pass the Mynwy by a ford. And in one part of the river the yokes of the oxen began to break, and the oxen to stand still, for they could not move the body from the place on account of its great weight, and although often fastened with chains and ropes, yet they were broken to pieces, and the oxen, although they were frequently goaded on, would not move a step, as if a fiery globe opposed them. And all beholding and wondering, the body remained in the place which was divinely prepared for it; and the people immediately, on account of the excellent life which they had known the holy man to lead, and his sanctity, and his death which obtained for him the crown of martyrdom, and the wonderful lightness of his body in the first place after his death, and secondly its very great weight, which caused it to be immovable, rendered praises to God. And a column of fire was seen on his tomb on the night following his sepulture as being pleasing to God. And immediately by the advice of the Bishop of Llandaff, and clergy¹, an oratory was there built, and sprinkling of water, in honour of the martyr Clydawg; and from that time the place began to be held in veneration, on account of the blessed martyr.²

On a certain day two men came from Llanerch Glas, who had quarrelled with each other, and said, "Let us agree to go to Madley, a church of St Dubricius, and both swear on his alter, that having forgotten the malice of envy, and united by compact, we shall be always for the future firm friends in brotherly peace." Who, when they were on the road, going the proposed journey, one of them said to the other, "Let us go to the place of the Martyr, (that is Clydawg,) and to his sepulchre; and shortening our journey, and our desire remaining, let us on his tomb agree and confirm perpetual peace between us." But after the compact was confirmed, one of them in their return, breaking the peace, and violating the covenant, killed the other treacherously, and also himself, as it is said, "Whoever contrives to injure another, will first smite himself with his own weapon." For immediately after having committed murder, and as I might say, also perjury, he stabbed himself with his own lance in the belly, and from the wound he died; and his companion, I say, was taken to eternal joy.³

¹ *'and immediately by the advice of the Bishop of Llandaff, and clergy'* – typical of the Book of Llandaff's style, the claims of the church was emphasised whenever possible. This is merely a more blatant example of fitting the Bishop of Llandaff into what is fairly clearly an earlier story.

² There are strong elements of pre-Christian myth in this story. The possibility that Clodock is a pagan sacred site should be considered.

³ The last story, about the two pilgrims, may well be another version of the Clydawg myth. Early Christians could hear two slightly different versions of a story and *Christianise* them both. The

Appendix B - The Grant of Merthyr Clitawg

Ithel son of Morgan, King of Glewysig, with the approbation of his sons and heirs, Ffernwael and Meurig, and the consent of their heirs, Ithel and Ffrewddyr, sacrificed to God, and to St Dubricius, St Teilo, and St Oudoceus' and Clydawg the martyr, and Bishop Berthgwyn, and all the Bishops of Llandaff, all the territory of Merthyr Clitawg, as it was better given to Clydawg the martyr, and the three hermits, Lybiaw, Gwrwan and Cynwr, the first inhabitants and cultivators of the place after the martyrdom of Clydawg, and with all its liberty and commonage given to the present and future inhabitants in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, and without any payment great or small, to any mortal man besides to the church of Llandaff and its pastors for ever; and as an island placed in the sea, free from every service, and without an inheritor, unless with the wish and for the benefit of the Bishop of Llandaff, and the canons of that church; and with refuge according to the will of the refugee, without limit; and as long as he should choose to remain, be safe under its protection as if he were in the sanctuary of Llandaff.

Of the clergy, the witnesses are Bishop Berthgwyn; Dagan, Abbot of Carvan valley; Elwoid, Abbot of Illtyd; Sadwrn, Abbot of Docunni: Ieuan, Gworydd, Helygwdd, Ili; of the laity, King Ithael, his sons Ffernwael and Meurig, Ithael and Ffrewddyr their heirs, Elffin, Mabsu, Cynwg, Gwaedfyw, Gwnddon, Eudem, Gwaenerth. Whoever will keep it, may God keep him; and whoever will separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be accursed. Amen.

Its boundary is, - The stone in the Weun Vraith on the Cecin¹, along it² to the Rhiw Gwrw, to the stone on the Cecin of the Allt, along the Cecin upwards as far as the stones to Nant Trineint³, along it downwards as far as into the Olchon⁴, along it downwards as far as Ynys Alarun⁵ at its top end, to the Maen Tyllawg to the Crug, the other Crug⁶, to the Monnow,⁷ across the Monnow to Aber Nant Cwm Cireith,⁸ the Nant throughout its length as far as Mynydd Ferddun⁹ above the Allt, along the ridge of Mynydd Ferddun to the pool of Ferddun, along the mountain to the source of Hilin, along Hilin as far as the Monnow, along the Monnow downwards as far as Aber Ffynnon Bist, along Ffynnon Bist as far as its source. From its source to the Cecin straight upwards making for the Weun Vraith on the Cecin of the mountain, where the boundary began.

different versions later become part of a syncretic process of collection and writing down. The essential elements – betrayal and death – are commonplace enough, but the location raises the suspicion the victim is Clydawg again.

1 The north end of Hatterall Hill

2 Hatterall Ridge

3 Turnant. The stone on the top of Hatterall Ridge was not identified by Lynda Rollason in 1975, the stream may be one of several, all of which converge to flow into the Olchon at a point directly east of Longtown Castle.

4 The Olchon Brook

5 The Isle of Alarun - the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Olchon and the Monnow

6 Crug - knoll, possibly now vanished cairns. None of these three places is now identifiable, but they must all be just south of Longtown.

7 The River Monnow

8 the influx of Nant Cwm Cireith, a stream

9 Mynydd Merddin

Appendix C – Occupiers of ‘The Greyhound’ in the 19th and earlier 20th centuries

1841	Rogers, John	Tithe Apportionment
1851	Lewis, John, victualler and butcher, <i>Greyhound</i> , Longtown	Lascelles Directory
1879	Lewis, John, <i>Greyhound</i> & butcher	Kelly's Directory
1891	Farr, Aaron, Greyhound PH	Kelly's Directory
1895	Farr, Sarah (Mrs), Greyhound	Kelly's Directory
1905	Farr, Sarah (Mrs), Greyhound	Kelly's Directory
1913	Addis, Alice (Mrs), Greyhound	Kelly's Directory
1914	Addis, Henry, Greyhound Inn	Kelly's Directory
1917	Addis, Alice (Mrs), Greyhound	Kelly's Directory
1929	Proctor, Allen, Greyhound PH	Kelly's Directory
1934	Proctor, Allen, Greyhound PH & clerk to the Parish Council	Kelly's Directory
1937	Proctor, Allen, Greyhound PH & clerk to the Parish Council	Kelly's Directory
1941	Greyhound PH (Allen Proctor)	Kelly's Directory

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Cartographic material

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Plans related to the National Grid

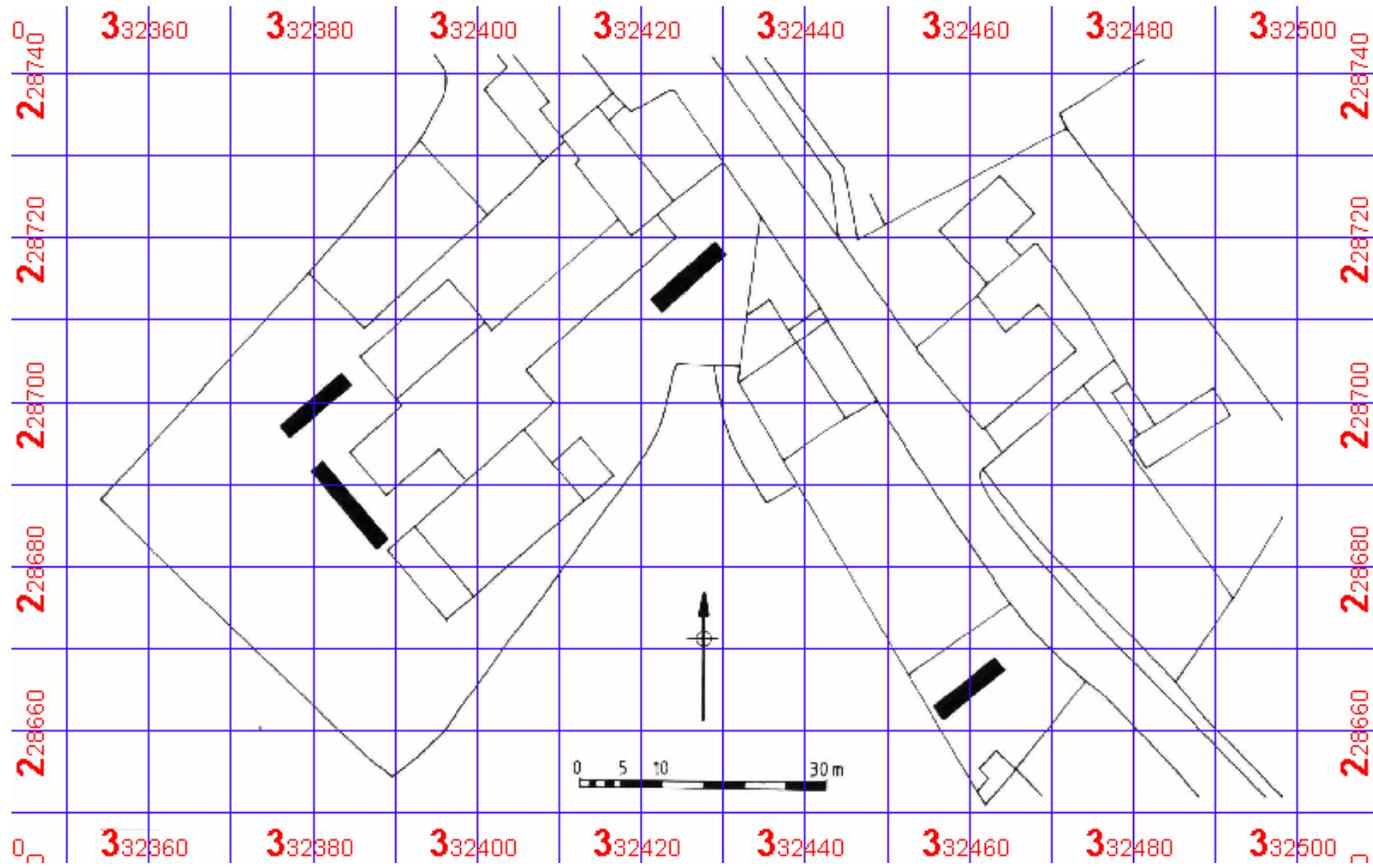


Figure 20: Trench location plan with National Grid

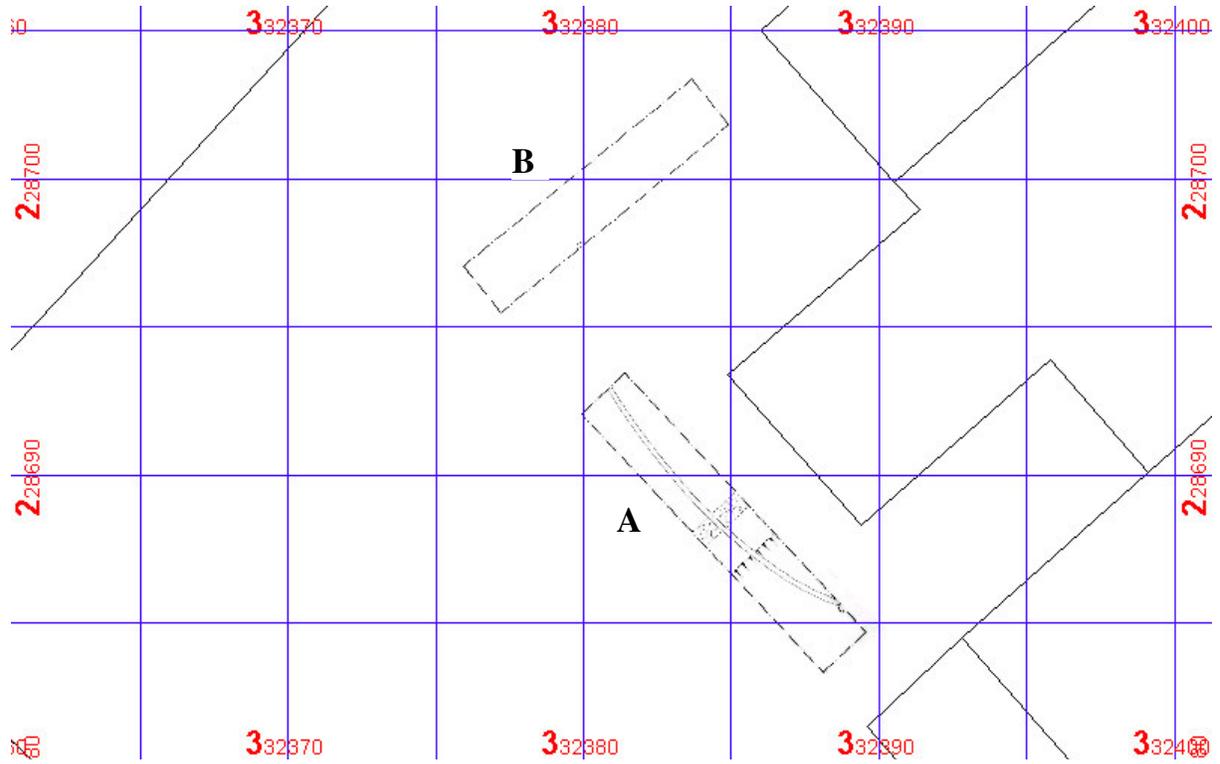


Figure 21: Trenches A and B with National Grid

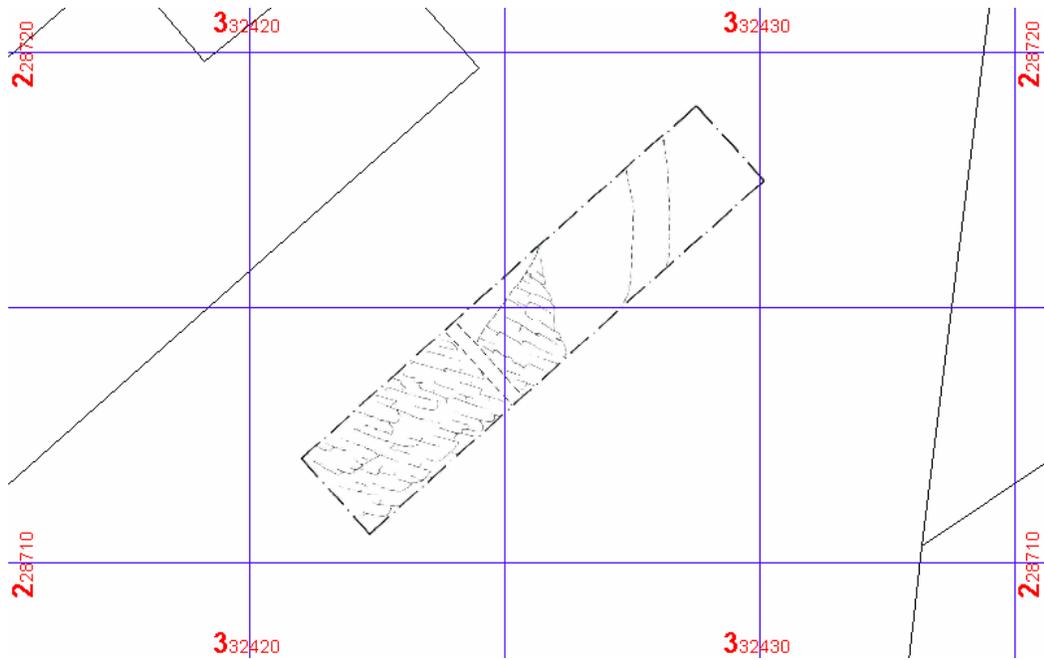


Figure 22: Trench C with National Grid

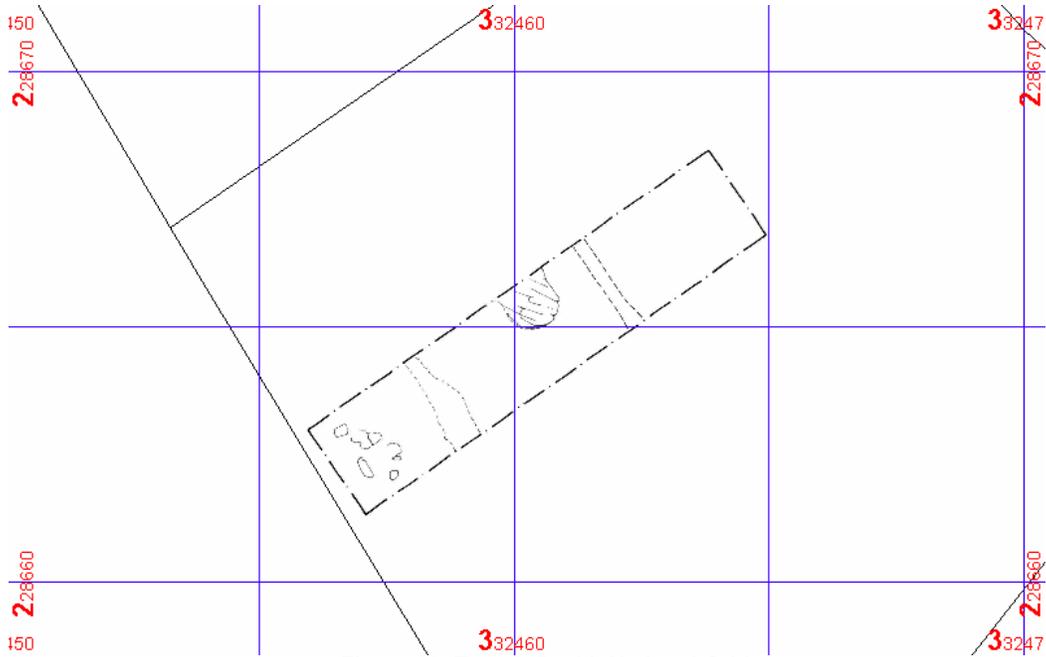


Figure 23: Trench D with National Grid

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